

McGhee

348

vol. 2

T H E
HISTORY of the TURKISH,
O R
OTTOMAN EMPIRE,
FROM ITS FOUNDATION IN 1300,
TO THE PEACE OF *BELGRADE* IN 1740.
TO WHICH IS PREFIXED
AN HISTORICAL DISCOURSE
O N
MAHOMET AND HIS SUCCESSORS.

TRANSLATED *from the FRENCH* of MIGNOT,

BY A. HAWKINS, Esq.

QUIDQUID DELIRANT REGES, PLECTUNTUR ACHIVI.

V O L. II.

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MDCCLXXXVII.

T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F T H E
Turkish, or Ottoman Empire,

From its Foundation in 1300, to the Peace of
BELGRADE in 1740.

S O L Y M A N I.

(Continued from the first volume.)

THE emperor remained some time in peace in his capital; but his bad success, only increased his ambition. Dis-

contented with the expeditions to Asia and Africa, he meditated to make himself amends for them in Europe. Francis I. king of France, solicited succours from him against his rival Charles V. Latibeg, the new grand vizier and brother-in-law to the emperor (for Solyman always gave his sisters in marriage to his ministers), fitted out a powerful fleet to ravage the coasts of Italy and Spain; but the conclusion of a truce

J.C. 1536.
& 1537.
Heg. 943.
& 944.

J.C. 1536, & 1537.
 Heg. 943, & 944.
 between Francis I. and Charles V. caused all these maritime forces of the Turks to be turned against the republic of Venice; for the generals of the emperor of the West had found means to render the Venetians suspected at the Porte, notwithstanding the treaties which united these two powers. The Ottoman fleet failed therefore to ravage the isle of Corfu. The siege of the capital of the island was raised almost immediately, because Latibeg, the grand vizier, jealous of Barbarossa, who commanded the fleet, persuaded his master that Corfu was impregnable. The captain bashaw abandoned the island, to his great regret, as soon as he received orders for it; but he did not leave it without a vast booty, and dragging after him a number of slaves. Having entered the Archipelago, he took some islands belonging to the republic, such as Sciro, Patmos, Stampalia, Paros, and some others. Charles V. offered the Venetians succours, which proved fatal to them; his admiral, Andrew Doria, who commanded the combined fleet of the republic of Venice, the emperor of the West, and the pope, betrayed, on this occasion, the interests of the allies whom his master wished to weaken. Doria always avoided carrying succours to the islands attacked by the Turks, and conducted all his forces towards the places where these republicans had nothing to fear. He lost designedly two occasions of vanquishing Barba-
 rossa.

Conquest
 of several
 islands in
 the Archi-
 pelago
 from the
 Vene-
 tians.

Peace with
 that re-
 public.

rossa. In fine, all the exploits of a fleet of two hundred sail extended to the taking of Castelnovo, which Capello, the Venetian admiral, took against Doria's consent; but it was impossible to prevail on the admiral of these pretended allies to profit by this advantage. According to the emperor's orders, he hastened his retreat, and Barbarossa soon retook Castelnovo. At length the Venetians, weakened by their losses and exasperated at the treachery of Charles V. asked peace of the Porte. Solyman would not listen to any proposals, unless the senate consented to relinquish their claim to the islands which they had lost in the Archipelago.

This was not the only success which the sultan owed to his generals: he had at the same time sent part of the army intended against the emperor of the West to the coast of Arabia, under the command of an eunuch, called Solyman: this is the first, and almost the only time, that we see an eunuch fill another place than those in the seraglio. It was intended to interrupt the spice trade, which the Portuguese, masters of the Indies and of one part of Arabia, wanted to monopolize. The Turkish emperor hated the Portuguese, who had taught the Persians the use of fire arms and the art of founding cannon. The prince of Portugal too, not long since, had joined Charles V. in the expedition against Tunis. The eunuch Solyman cleared the sea in the course of a year;


J.C. 1536,
& 1537.
Heg. 943,
& 944.

Conquests
from the
Portuguese
in Arabia
felix.

J.C. 1536, a year; he took the kingdom of Aden, which he
 & 1537.
 Heg. 943, cheated the Mussulman monarch out of, under
 & 944.
 a false pretence of alliance; he made himself
 master likewise of the kingdoms of Zebit and
 Cambaia, which the Portuguese were incapable of
 defending. These three petty states, which form
 part of Arabia felix, produce a great deal of bal-
 sams and perfumes. Solyman formed them into
 one sangiacate.

J.C. 1538, The news of these conquests alleviated a little
 & 1539.
 Heg. 945, the chagrin which tormented the sultan. He had
 & 946.
 seen consumed under his eyes the half of his capital
 by two scourges, which were more terrible, because
 they happened at the same time. The plague,
 more fatal and more contagious than any other
 disease, makes less ravages in the East than in the
 temperate climates; but it is much more frequent
 there. One may almost aver that this disorder is
 always in Constantinople. At certain times it is
 incurable, at others easy to be cured. The con-
 tagion is more or less strong, according to the
 state of the air. Perfumes and baths are much
 used against the plague, particularly to prevent
 it. In the year 1539 it became exceedingly bad,
 for a dreadful fire having broken out in the mid-
 dle of the night, when the plague was very rife,
 all the inhabitants ran into the middle of the
 streets. To escape one great danger, they
 exposed themselves to another. Some car-
 ried death to the place where the cries of the
 wretched

Constan-
 tinople is
 desolated
 by two
 scourges at
 once, the
 plague and
 fire.

wretched² claimed their assistance; and others, J.C. 1538,
& 1539,
Heg. 945,
& 946. to avoid the flames, precipitated themselves into an infected air, where they met their end. 

The disorder increased by the fatigue, and spread by the perspiration. Most of the private houses at Constantinople are only of painted wood. More than one third of the city was consumed. Thousands who escaped the flames fell sacrifices to the plague; in a few days, Constantinople became as desert and desolated as if this great city had been taken by assault. Solyman, who for several days had watched to oppose the progress of the fire, and who, notwithstanding the danger he ran, had never quitted his capital, saw, with the greatest affliction, near one third of the inhabitants of Constantinople destroyed by the distemper or the flames. He ordered heaps of aromatic herbs to be burnt in the streets, and perfumes to be distributed at a very low price. Several years did not repair this loss; the houses only were soon rebuilt, as the emperor lessened the imposts on them and on the customs, the only ones to which the Turks are habitually accustomed. The misfortunes which Solyman had witnessed, and the pains that he had taken to preserve himself, made him forget for some time the desire of conquest, so natural to him. His avidity however soon recalled him into Hungary.

King

J.C. 1540.
Heg. 947.

King John was lately dead. He left one son a year old under the guardianship of Isabella his wife, sister of the king of Poland. This princess had for adviser a monk, called George, become bishop of Waradin, an old servant of the house of Zapoli. The treaty made between the two kings of Hungary, which gave only Transylvania to the posterity of John; the infancy of the only son left by that prince; and the power of the house of Austria; seemed to promise Ferdinand of Austria the peaceable enjoyment of a kingdom, which, he thought, belonged to him. He sent to Isabella to summon her to execute the treaty, and, in consequence, to carry her son to Transylvania; he sent likewise to Constantinople this same James Laschi, who had formerly procured for king John the protection of the Porte, and who had since quitted the service of that prince for the house of Austria. Solyman, without regarding the character with which Laschi was invested, had him arrested as a traitor. This man, terrified, gave all the information that was demanded of him, thinking much less of serving Ferdinand, than of recovering his liberty. When they had drawn from him the real state of Hungary, and what were the resources of Ferdinand, the grand vizier ordered him, to go and tell his pretended master, that St. Stephen's crown belonged to the posterity of John Zapoli, under the high sovereignty and protection of the Ottoman empire;

empire; that if that prince had, through weakness, contracted engagements contrary to the rights of the Porte and those of his house, the Ottoman sword would soon cut them asunder. J.C. 1540.
Heg. 947.

Queen Isabella's envoy arrived at Constantinople at the same time as Ferdinand's. They loaded him with caresses, and promised his master all the succours he could hope for. Ferdinand had no reason to be better pleased with the steps he had taken with queen Isabella; this princess, who expected great things from her allies, replied to her son's rival, that the king of Poland, her brother, would direct her proceedings, and that she expected he would explain to her the interests of her son and his. Ferdinand perceived that it was useless to negociate: he placed general Rogendorf at the head of the troops furnished him by Charles V. and those which he kept himself in pay. The Austrians soon took Vicegrad and Bascia; but it was more important to take the town of Buda, in which John's son resided with his mother. He had just been crowned there with the ancient crown of Saint Stephen, revered in Hungary, which was in the possession of that party. This circumstance, frivolous in appearance, made great impression on the minds of the people. Rogendorf had scarcely invested Buda, when Mahomet, bashaw of Belgrade, appeared at the head of a numerous infantry. Solymán had left Constantinople to

The bashaw of Belgrade beats the army of Ferdinand before Buda.

J.C. 1540. come and visit his conquest (for so he called
 Heg. 247. Hungary), but he was still at a distance when
 the bashaw Mahomet obliged Rogendorf to come
 to action in the plains of Buda. The battle was
 bloody and obstinate. The partisans of king
 Stephen (for so they had named John's son) did
 not appear there. This infant king had not
 even soldiers enough to guard the gates of
 Buda; and the Hungarians of his party pre-
 sumed already that their master was no longer
 fought for. Rogendorf was beaten, wounded,
 and died of his wound; his soldiers, almost en-
 tirely dispersed, experienced all the hardships
 of misfortune: the Turks butchered all that
 fell in their way. The peasants, soured by the
 miseries brought on them by the war, massacred
 all Ferdinand's soldiers that they saw fleeing
 without defence. The sultan at length arrived
 before Buda, perceiving nothing throughout but
 devastations and bloody signs of victory; he en-
 camped in the plain, and sent to compliment
 queen Isabella, who lodged in the castle.

The empe-
 ror of the
 Turks ar-
 rives before
 Buda.

He makes
 them bring
 him the
 little king
 Stephen,
 the son of
 king John.

Solyman excused himself from visiting this
 princess on account of decency. He sent to de-
 sire to have the person of the king intrusted to
 him. Isabella, alarmed, would fain refuse him her
 son; but the bishop of Waradin made her sensi-
 ble, that, in his feeble state, it would be dan-
 gerous to shew a mistrust to an ally powerful and
 absolute. They surrounded this infant with the
 most

most attractive magnificence, but which did not conceal his weakness from the eyes of the Turks. I.C. 1540.
Heg. 947.

All the grandees, the old servants of king John, carried the young prince to Solyman, who received the son of his vassal with an apparent kindness. He took him in his arms, and ordered two of his sons who accompanied him, to caress this child whom they ought to protect. He caused a superb entertainment to be served up to the lords who had escorted little Stephen; but, in the middle of all these demonstrations of kindness, Solyman ordered the janissaries to seize on the gates of Buda. He recommended them to enter the town in a large number and without arms, under pretext of curiosity. When they saw themselves greatly superior in number to the Hungarian guard, they seized on all the gates, almost without striking a blow, and published, that they would guard it for their master Solyman. Though Isabella had foreseen this misfortune, her affliction was extreme. She wrote to the emperor of the Turks a letter, full of grief, submission, and reproaches; she earnestly demanded the execution of his promises and the protection that he owed the widow and the orphan; in fine, she exerted every effort to excite generosity in the heart of this barbarian. But she received in reply an order, to write to all the governors of the towns that held for her son, to surrender their places to the Ottoman garrisons.

He seizes on Buda, and reduces little Stephen to the quality of waywode of Transylvania. His mother flees with him into that province.

Towards

J.C. 1540.
Heg. 947.

Towards the evening of the same day, Solyman sent back the young prince to the castle of Buda; but he retained all the lords who had accompanied him. The emperor replied to the earnest solicitations that were made him from Isabella to release the servants of her son, that he would set them at liberty when he should be master of the places which he wanted to get possession of. Every instant she had messages, or rather orders, from Solyman, which rendered her condition more mortifying and wretched. In the course of the same day she received an order to retire to Lippa with her son, a prohibition to have her son called king of Hungary, the ensign of fangiac which constituted him solely governor or waywode of Transylvania under the sovereignty of Solyman, and lastly, a list of the Hungarian officers whom the emperor appointed counsellors and guardians to the young waywode, not choosing to trust the mother, either with the education of her son, or the exercise of that shadow of authority which was yet left her. It is true, that almost all those, who had been nominated in the will of king John to share between them the weight of government, were likewise chosen by the emperor of the Turks.

The unfortunate queen confined herself to this single favor, that they would be pleased to indulge her so far, as to delay 'till her departure the administering of justice in the name of Solyman, and

and the converting of the churches into mosques; J.C. 1540.
Heg. 947.
and the sultan at first had not dared refuse it her.

But as Isabella's stay was longer than was expected, she had the mortification to see the imans enter the churches where she was addressing to God the most earnest prayers, break down the altars before her face, and consecrate to Mahomet, by the sacrifices of sheep and heifers, the temples where, 'till then, the Christians had rendered to God a worship pure and reasonable. The queen hastened her departure, to avoid the treatment which she had reason to fear from the ferocity of the Turks. Solyman immediately appointed cadis to administer justice. He permitted the Hungarian judges to decide the civil causes between the Hungarians, and he left them one half of the churches for the free exercise of their religion. All the towns of lower Hungary which had acknowledged King John for their master were treated in the same manner.

Whilst queen Isabella, yielding to her ill fortune, was gone to hide her son at the extremity of Transylvania, Ferdinand saw with the greatest grief the finest part of Hungary, which he considered as his heritage, become the prey of the Turks. He could not then hope to wrest it from Solyman. Charles V. his brother, engaged at that time in an expedition against Algiers, thought much more of fighting Barbarossa, and of scouring the Mediterranean of corsairs which interrupted

J.C. 1541.
Heg. 948.

Ferdinand attempts in vain to procure a peace with Solyman.

I.C. 1541.
 Heg. 948.

interrupted the commerce of his dominions; than of conquering Hungary for his brother. The army of Rogendorf, beaten and dispersed, could not spring up again from its ashes. Ferdinand tried the voice of negociation; he flattered himself, that this fiery Ottoman, who refused to have a child for vassal, would voluntarily receive the homage of a king of the Romans, successor to the emperor of the West. He sent to Buda two ambassadors, charged with magnificent presents. The emperor received this proposal with all the pomp and splendor that could flatter his vanity. Ferdinand's ambassadors were admitted to a public audience. Solyman heard from his throne the harangue which one of them made in German, and which the same instant a druggerman translated by word of mouth into Turkish. When a numerous assembly had heard with astonishment how much the king of the Romans abased himself, the sultan put off his answer for two days, at the end of which, he replied by his grand vizier to the Austrian ambassadors, that, if the archduke would have peace with the sublime Porte, he must give up all the places that he still had in Hungary, and pay a small tribute for those estates which he possessed in Austria, from which his troops had dared come and attack the sultan. After this haughty answer, Solyman set out for Constantinople. He said aloud, that Ferdinand was not an enemy of sufficient consequence to have the
 honor

honor of fighting against the emperor of the
Turks in person.

J.C. 1541.
Heg. 948.

This haughtiness was fed by new successes. He learned that Charles V. had lost a hundred and forty vessels on the coast of Barbary; that the elements, which had conspired against that prince, had protected Barbarossa, and that this general, equally great by sea and land, had obliged Charles V. to re-embark the broken remains of his army in what vessels he had left, after having lost a great number of brave soldiers before the walls of Algiers; that Andrew Doria, against whose advice the emperor of the West had undertaken this enterprise, had had much difficulty to save the person of his master. This increase of victories confirmed Solyman in the resolution which he had already taken, not to command in person during the year 1542.

Success of
Barbarossa
against
Charles V.

Ferdinand, who never lost sight of his object, went and solicited from the diet of Nuremburg what he was unable to obtain from Charles V. The king of the Romans laid before the Germanic corps the necessity of driving from the frontiers the most powerful and dangerous enemy of Christendom. It was resolved, that all the free towns should contribute to furnish the king of Hungary with thirty thousand foot, and seven thousand horse. The Hungarian cavalry amounted to fifteen thousand. Ferdinand added to this number ten thousand foot. He gave the command

J.C. 1542
Heg. 949

Ferdinand
sends an
army into
Hungary,
which does
nothing
but waste
away.

J.C. 1542.
Heg. 949. of this army to Joachim, marquis of Brandenburg, a young general without experience. With troops of the finest appearance, Joachim could not obtain the least success. He besieged Pest, a town strongly fortified, and Buda, which Solyman had likewise caused to be surrounded with large ditches and a thick rampart. The Turks opposed with indefatigable courage the efforts of this army of confederates, who soon disagreed among themselves. The general knew but little of his soldiers, and the latter had no confidence in a man who was recommendable by no brilliant action, and appeared ignorant of war. In fine, during a whole campaign, as bloody as fatiguing, the confederates did not take one town, nor even an inch of ground. The Turks, who had orders to keep on the defensive, never appeared in battle array. The campaigns of Hungary were too much desolated, and had been so for too long a time, to be able to furnish subsistence for numerous troops. Ferdinand, who had been drained by the levies, had neither been able to prepare nor fill the magazines; he consumed his forces, whilst the Turks spared theirs, and Solyman, from the middle of his seraglio, took pleasure in seeing his enemies destroy themselves.

The Turkish emperor received at Constantinople a new embassy from Francis I. who solicited his assistance against Charles V. After the truce solemnly entered into between the emperor of the West and the king of France, the latter had

had recalled Rinçon (that was the name of his minister at the Porte) and had since charged him with a negociation between the republic of Venice and Solyman, which had no other object than the maritime commerce. Without doubt this new voyage of Rinçon's, both to Venice and Constantinople, appeared suspicious to Charles V. Be that as it may, the French minister, who, on leaving Venice, had embarked to enter the Po without mistrust, unarmed, and unescorted, because it was in the midst of peace, was boarded by two barks covered with branches and filled with armed Spaniards, who entered his vessel and massacred him and all his retinue. This outrage, committed in the midst of peace, by Christians on a man in a public character, whilst Charles V. three years before, had experienced the sincerity of Francis I. when he traversed all his dominions to go and reduce the rebels of Flanders, raised the indignation of all Europe as well as of the king whom it wounded. It was not doubted that it was done by order of Charles V. What minister, or what officer would have dared order it, unless he had his master for accomplice? Francis I. resolved to revenge it, by entering into a close alliance with the emperor of the Turks. He sent to the Porte Anthony Paulin, a man of ability, and of a quick, penetrating understanding. Paulin passed through Venice, where he attempted to exasperate the senate against Charles

J.C. 1542.
Heg. 949.

Francis I. sends an embassy to Constantinople to join in a league with the Turks against Charles V. occasioned by an assassination committed on the person of one of his ministers.

J.C. 1542, V.
Heg. 949.

The Venetians gave him a galley, which carried him to Dalmatia, from whence the French minister went to join Solyman, who was returning from Hungary to Constantinople. Paulin did his utmost to engage the Turks in a war with Charles V.; he offered, from his master, to join his forces to those of the Porte, and to give Barbarossa free admittance into the ports of France, when he should come there with the Ottoman fleet. The sultan was to send to Venice an ambassador to ratify the peace concluded with the republic. Paulin obtained, that the Turkish minister should propose to the Venetians to join in this confederacy, in order to humble the house of Austria. Solyman's ambassador was received at Venice with great honors.

This republic, as we have seen, had reason to be dissatisfied with Charles V. and was so in fact; but the senate did not judge it prudent to enter upon a new war. The liberty of commerce was too advantageous to the Venetians, to bring on themselves a powerful enemy by sea. They were equally afraid of the Austrians, the Turks, and the French; and without being attached to either of these powers, the republic wished to be on good terms with them all. Paulin returned to France to give an account to his master of the intention of Solyman and of the Venetians. All these treaties took up a whole year; Barbarossa's fleet was not ready 'till the spring of the year

year 1543. Paulin then, on his return to Constantinople, was charged by Solyman with a letter for his master, in reply to that which he had brought from Francis I. The following is a faithful translation of it. The Ottoman haughtiness is so well painted therein, that we have thought it our duty to insert it.

“ The glory of the princes of the religion of
 “ Jesus, possessor of majesty and grandeur, adorned with splendor and magnificence, Francis
 “ king of France: My imperial letter being
 “ come to thy hands, thou wilt know, that, on
 “ the request made me by Paulin thy minister,
 “ I have granted him my redoubtable fleet,
 “ equipped with every thing necessary. I have
 “ ordered Aliaden, my captain bashaw, to hear thy
 “ intentions, and plan his operations to ruin thy
 “ enemies. Thou wilt take thy measures so, that,
 “ after having happily executed them, my army
 “ may return before the dangerous season. Take
 “ care that thy enemy do not deceive thee; he
 “ will never consent to make peace with thee,
 “ ’till he shall be convinced that thou hast sufficient
 “ resolution to continue the war with
 “ him. May God load with his benedictions
 “ those who esteem my friendship, and who enjoy
 “ the protection of my victorious armies.”

It was agreed, that, during the whole expedition, Paulin should remain on board Barbarossa's galley, to explain to him his master's intentions,

J.C. 1543
Heg. 950.

The Ottoman fleet sails from Constantinople, takes Reggio, coasts along the Tuscan & Genoese dominions without committing any disorder, & arrives at Marseilles.

intentions. The fleet, to the number of a hundred and ten galleys, and forty pinks, crossed the Ionian sea. After having scoured the coast of Messina, the corsairs, who manned the forty pinks, debarked at Reggio to take the place, which made but little resistance. Barbarossa, for his part of the booty, chose the governor's daughter. This fair-one, to avoid the mortifying title of the admiral's mistress, changed her religion and married Barbarossa on board.

The Ottoman fleet, passing off Ostia, terrified the whole country as far as Rome. The women fled with their children to mountains almost inaccessible: the nuns quitted their convents: every one hid his wealth; and all feared lest the see of Christendom should be sacked by the Mahometan corsairs. The letters which Paulin wrote to cardinal Carpi, governor of Rome, were scarcely sufficient to remove the fears of a timid troop of priests, monks, and merchants, who loaded with curses a Christian prince become the ally of the Turks. But when their terror had subsided, the hope of gain soon prevailed on them to come and provision the fleet of these excommunicated people, who had caused them so much horror. It proceeded along the coasts of Tuscany and Genoa, without committing the smallest depredation. On its arrival at Marseilles, Paulin went to receive orders from Francis I. and returned immediately to direct Barbarossa to

lay

lay siege to Nice. The king of France had formerly mortgaged this town for money to the duke of Savoy, the ally of Charles V. and that prince refused to restore it, though he was offered the restitution of the sum which was due to him. The French fleet, which consisted of fourteen galleys and eighteen large vessels, joined the Turks at Marseilles: it had on board eight thousand land forces, and was commanded by the duke of Anguien. Nice, a maritime town, very well fortified, and provided with a castle stronger than the town, was defended by commander Simonei, the same who, whilst a slave at Tunis, had found means to get possession of that town. This brave officer, did not belie his reputation on this perilous occasion. After a long and bloody defence, the duke of Anguien having ordered several attacks which had laid open the walls on all sides, Simonei capitulated, that the town might be restored to France without pillage, or contribution, and preserving all the privileges that it had enjoyed when it had belonged to that kingdom. The Turks, who were come only to pillage, did not see a surrender of this kind without mortification. This manner of making war, which corsairs could not relish, soon produced a division among the allies. Whilst they were besieging the castle, the Turks endeavoured to quarrel with the French, under pretext of the latter's not having taken care to provide themselves

J.C. 1543.
Heg. 950.

Bad success
of the siege
of Nice.

J.C. 1543.
Heg. 950.

themselves with a sufficient quantity of powder, and that they were obliged to borrow of them.

A few days after, they were informed, that the marquis of Vasto was coming to the succour of Nice, at the head of Charles V.'s army. The castle still held out: the Turks, on these news, rushed into the town, which they pillaged as if it had belonged to an enemy; after which they returned to their vessels, and without conferring either with the duke of Anguien or the French ambassador, whom they left at Nice, they weighed anchor, and retook the road to Constantinople.

Solyman, who, the preceding year, had caused Hungary to be ravaged by his generals; thought the expedition of Barbarossa a favorable circumstance for him to make conquests in person. He took Walpo, Senona, Gran, Pest, Albaregalis, and Vicegrad, with great rapidity, and returned to Adrianople, when the cold, always excessive in Hungary, obliged him to go into winter quarters. Notwithstanding the orders that he had given to queen Isabella, whom he looked upon as his vassal, the Transylvanians did not join their forces to those of the Turks. The bishop of Waradin advised the mother of his master, to leave her oppressors to make war by themselves, without taking any part between them. This princess, as we shall see in the sequel, inclined more to Ferdinand, her natural enemy, than to these cruel Mussulmen

Mussulmen who had at once oppressed and betrayed her. J.C. 1543.
Heg. 950.

Solyman, vanquisher and conqueror of more than half of Hungary, soon watered his laurels with his tears. He lost him of all his sons whom he loved the best, one of the children that he had had by Roxalana his favorite sultaneſs. Never did the cruel sultan ſhew ſo much ſenſibility as at the loſs of this prince, whom he preferred to all his other children. Solyman, as much to honor the memory of the young Mahomet, as to obtain the remiſſion of the ſins of that prince, ſet at liberty a great many ſlaves of both ſexes; he founded a moſque, in which ſeveral imans were to recite every day portions of the Alcoran and hymns; he built near this ſuperb edifice another, called a Menderez, appropriated to the education of youth in the law of Mahomet; and another, called an Imaret or Hoſpital, where the poor of every religion were to be equally taken care of.

The ſultan's grief was ſo great, that he remained a long time incapable of attending to any buſineſs. During this interval, his grand vizier, Latibeg, convinced that his maſter would not take the field the following year, and that to humble the emperor of the Weſt was always to be conſidered as an advantage gained, concluded a truce for five years with Charles V. and Ferdinand, under the expreſs condition of thirty thou-

J.C. 1544,
1545,
1546,
& 1547.
Heg. 951,
952,
953,
& 954.
Truce between the
Turks and
Austrians.

J.C. 1544, send Hungarian ducats as an annual tribute, and
 1545, that each should retain what he possessed in the
 1546, kingdom at the time of the cessation of hostilities.
 & 1547. The treaty is worded in pompous terms, on which
 Heg. 951, Ferdinand's envoy would not dispute, knowing
 952, how much his master was in want of peace. As
 953, to Charles V. he referred it all to his brother,
 & 954. whose affairs seemed always to interest him but
 little. In the written treaty, Ferdinand stipu-
 lates for the emperor of the West.

Death of
Barbarossa.

Solyman, just at this time, met with a loss, less grievous to his heart than that of his son, but much greater for the safety of his dominions and the glory of his reign. Barbarossa died of a fit of sickness in 1547, after having filled all the seas and coasts of Europe, Africa and Asia, with the terror of his name. These misfortunes seemed for some time to disgust the sultan with war and conquests. For three successive years he appeared occupied only in raising the edifices consumed by the late fire, and in having those laws which he had dictated himself put into execution.

The emper-
ror marries
Roxalana.

Roxalana knew how to make a good use of this opportunity. The loss of the young prince that Solyman had had by her, rendered this slave still more dear, by the lamentations which she made in presence of the emperor. But the grief, real or affected, of Roxalana, did not make her forget her own interest. As she saw the emperor take pleasure in raising edifices, she resolved, after his example,

example, to build a mosque with the immense J.C. 1544,
 sums which he daily lavished on her. This 1545,
 religious undertaking could not but please So- 1546,
 lyman; but that was not all that Roxalana ex- & 1547.
 pected from it. She was a slave like all the other Heg. 951,
 women of the haram; as the pride of the east- 952,
 ern emperors, for a long time past, had not per- 953,
 mitted them to raise to the dignity of wives those & 954.
 whom they chose should enter their bed. Rox-
 alana had the mufti consulted, to know if the
 alms and other pious works of slaves would be
 meritorious in the other life. The mufti replied,
 as the sultaneſs expected, that all a slave poſſeſſed,
 even her perſon, abſolutely belonged to her maſ-
 ter; that, conſequently, what ſhe appropriated to
 the ſervice of God, the prophet, or the poor,
 could only be meritorious for the maſter whoſe
 ſubſtance the ſlave made uſe of. Roxalana, hav-
 ing ſhewn this answer to the emperor, ſeemed
 violently grieved, which Solyman thought to re-
 move, by giving his dear ſultaneſs her liberty, in
 order that her good works might for the future
 turn to her own advantage. She expreſſed the
 moſt heartfelt gratitude to her deliverer; but
 afterward, when he would ſain live with her as
 his favorite, the ſcrupulous Roxalana declared to
 Solyman, that the law of Mahomet permitted
 Muſſulmen to cohabit, only with their wives and
 ſlaves, and that conſequently a freed woman
 could not, without a crime, conſent to his deſires.

J.C. 1544, The emperor was at first irritated at the cheat;
 1545,
 1546, but after having to no purpose made use of ca-
 & 1547.
 Heg. 951, reffes, menaces, and even ill treatment, the vio-
 952,
 953, lence of his passion overcame the Ottoman pride.
 & 954. Solyman chose rather to marry Roxalana, than to
 part with her.

Roxalana
 causes war
 to be de-
 clared a-
 gainst Per-
 sia, which
 lasts only
 one cam-
 paign.

From that time Mustapha, the emperor's eldest son, who was not a son of Roxalana, perceived he should have a dangerous enemy in this ambitious sultaness; and that she, who, against all laws and customs, had been able to make herself empress, would one day find means to convey the sceptre to her children, to the prejudice of their elder brother. This artful step-mother, in order to accustom her husband to domestic quarrels, engaged him in a war which the king of Persia's brother wanted to stir up against his brother. Though all the expeditions against this power had thus far been unfortunate, and, some years before, Roxalana herself had ruined the grand vizier Ibrahim, under pretext of his having endangered the Ottoman glory, by exposing their armies to perish in the deserts of Persia, yet she succeeded. This younger brother of Tachmas was called Alkazik Mirza. Their father had given this last the province of Shirvan, as a portion, to command there under the authority of his brother, and to receive the revenues of it. Alkazik soon aimed at being sovereign of it. Tachmas pretended on the contrary, that all Persia

Persia was but one monarchy; and that he, who J.C. 1544,
1545,
1546,
& 1547.
Heg. 951,
952,
953,
& 954. had the presumption to call himself sovereign of Shirvan, was in fact only a rebel. He drove him from his pretended kingdom; and this prince, stripped of his sovereignty, sought an asylum at Constantinople. The cause of a younger brother, revolted against his elder, and against his sovereign, appeared favorable to the empress Roxalana. She prevailed on Solymán to march his janissaries and spahis against the king of Persia. For a long time the Ottoman troops had been languishing in repose, and they began to complain of it; but all the old soldiers who remembered the Persian wars, would much rather have carried their arms into a more fruitful country. The sultan entered Asia with a fine army, which increased every day as it approached the frontiers of Persia. Prince Mustapha, governor of Amasia, joined his father on the march, and intreated permission to share with him the fatigues and glory that attended him. But Roxalana had foreseen this. There was no occasion to shew the janissaries a young prince all burning with ardour, whose figure and affability enchanted every one that approached him, and who, already the idol of the province intrusted to him, would soon have become the idol of the army.

The campaign against the Persians was as unfortunate as it could be. The prince, for whom it had been undertaken; being surpris'd at
the

J.C. 1544, the head of a few soldiers which formed the ad-
 1545, vanced guard, lost his head for his rebellion. As
 1546, for the rest, Tachmas made war against Solyman,
 & 1547, just as his father and he had already done, leaving
 Heg. 951, the Turks to get into an arid, desolated country,
 952, where they combated hunger and the elements
 953, much more than the Persians, who skirmished and
 & 954, constantly avoided battle. Fatigue and disease
 having preyed upon the sultan's army for six
 months, he went at length into the Diarbekar, to
 seek necessary refreshments for his remaining
 troops.

J.C. 1548, On the arrival of the spring, Solyman, far from
 & 1549, endeavouring to repair by some success the mis-
 Heg. 955, fortunes of the preceding campaign, re-took the
 & 956, road to Constantinople. On his return to his
 European dominions, he found the affairs of
 Hungary greatly changed. Ferdinand, king of
 the Romans, partly by the terror of his arms, and
 partly by negociation, had prevailed on queen
 Isabella to cede Transylvania to him with the
 crown of Saint Stephen, so revered by the people.
 She received, as a full recompense for this sove-
 reignty, lands in upper Hungary to the annual
 value of twelve thousand five hundred pounds
 sterling, and the promise of marrying on a future
 day the prince her son to king Ferdinand's
 daughter. The archbishop of Waradin was the
 person who prevailed on Isabella to make this
 cession; and a short time after, the king, whom
 he

Affairs of
 Hungary.
 The Turks
 raise the
 siege of
 Temeswar.

he had so well served, procured him a cardinal's hat. As soon as Solyman learned that his vassal had given up, without his consent, the fief which the Turkish emperor pretended to have conferred on him; without regarding the law of nations, he had king Ferdinand's ambassador imprisoned in the castle of the Seven Towers, under pretext of his master's having broken the truce. He immediately dispatched the beglerbeg of Romania, at the head of the European forces, to punish this infraction of treaty. The Turks at first took several small places, which the Hungarians, who were taken by surprise, did not defend as they ought; but Mehemet, that was the name of the beglerbeg, having besieged Temeswar, and meeting with more resistance than he expected, soon learned that Gualtaldo, Ferdinand's general, had laid siege in his turn to Lipa.

The new archbishop of Gran, become cardinal Martinuzzi, had an authority in Hungary which even the king began to be jealous of, and which that prince did not dare dispute with the prelate who had brought Transylvania under his sceptre. General Gualtaldo himself obeyed, fuming with rage, a monk who expected to command the army, as he decided in the councils of the princes. However, the cardinal, after having given proper orders for the defence of Temeswar, which the Turks were obliged to raise the siege of, went in person

J.C. 1548,
& 1549.
Heg. 955,
& 956.

Capitulation of Lipa. Cardinal Martinuzzi is assassinated.

J.C. 1545,
& 1549.
Heg. 955,
& 956.

person to the siege of Lippa and directed the operations himself. After having the trenches open a month, and the breaches being become large, the Turks, whom Mehemet had left in the place, desired to capitulate. Guastaldo maintained that they should be taken by assault, and be all put to the sword; that a capitulation never ought to be granted to a nation so blood thirsty; and that a peace could never be hoped for with the Turks 'till they should be reduced to the impossibility of making war. The cardinal opposed this advice, which appeared to him too violent and hazardous. By the authority which he had assumed under three kings successively, he signed a capitulation, by which the Turks were permitted to march out of Lippa with their arms, and he caused it to be executed under his own eyes. Guastaldo's complaints reached the court of Ferdinand. The general wrote to his master, that this ambitious priest, who had governed Hungary amidst the dissensions, wanted to perpetuate the war in order to eternise his power; that he began already to carry on a secret correspondence with the Turks, and that one day he would deliver them the kingdom, in hopes to govern ^{under} them, as he had delivered Transylvania to Ferdinand. The Austrian prince listened to every thing that was said against him. Not being sufficiently established on his throne to chastise a powerful subject, he thought himself at liberty to
get

get him assassinated. Guastaldo did not refuse to get this base action perpetrated. The prelate was surprised in a castle called Bins, which he had built in his archbishopric, and where he was gone to pass some days. Guastaldo, under pretext of asking orders from the cardinal, sent some officers of the army thither, who, having surrounded him, stabbed the prelate whilst he was reading a letter which they had brought him from the general. It was remarked, that all the accomplices of this assassination died unnatural deaths in a very few years. Cardinal Martinuzzi had a great many partisans in Hungary. This prelate had approached so near the throne entirely by his great abilities, which had procured him a number of admirers. His loss, and particularly the manner of his death, rendered the government of Ferdinand odious to the Hungarians.

J.C. 1548,
& 1549.
Heg. 955,
& 956.

Meheмет knew how to take advantage of the division of the Christians; he recommenced the siege of Temeswar, which soon surrendered. He took several other places. Perhaps, in this conjuncture, the Turks would have easily made themselves masters of Hungary, if their extreme cruelty had not warned the people to guard against such masters. And indeed they spilt unnecessarily so much blood in these towns which made scarcely any resistance, that the citizens of Agria, which Meheмет besieged at the end of the campaign, resolved

Cruelties
of the
Turks in
Hungary.
Resistance
of Agria.
The Turks
raise the
siege.

J.C. 1548,
& 1549.
Heg. 955,
& 956.

never to surrender, though the garrison consisted but of two thousand men. The citizens assembled in the different quarters of their town, and swore on the host never to open their gates, to whatever extremity they might be reduced. The women, whose modesty was greatly alarmed by the example of what had passed in the other towns, which, notwithstanding, had not been taken by assault, wished to have a part in the defence. They bound themselves by the same oaths as their brothers and husbands. Several of them, in reality, performed, in the course of the siege, actions which astonished all that were witnesses of them. As the fortifications did not advance much beyond the ramparts, the Turks soon stormed the place; the women, as determined as the best soldiers of the garrison, rolled on the assailants large pieces of rocks, covered the barbarians with boiling oil, and precipitated them from the tops of the ladders. The Turks, who were eighty thousand, knew there were but two thousand soldiers in Agria: every day they attempted assaults, and as constantly their cannon destroyed great numbers; nevertheless the number of the defenders did not seem diminished. The janissaries that reached the top of the rampart, met certain death; even several entire corps that had succeeded in the escalade, were massacred in the streets, without one of them's being able to obtain quarter, or rejoin his company. At length

length the rains, and the rigour of the winter, which approached, obliged Mehemet to raise the siege. The bravery of the citizens of Agria succeeded beyond their expectations; they shewed their enemies how much true valour is superior to ferocity. The resistance of Agria gave Ferdinand vain hopes of some accommodation with the Turks: baron Busbec, his ambassador, was, however, still treated at the Porte, rather as a prisoner of state, than the minister of a foreign power. Solyman, on the contrary, listened to Ernest Scinski, whom queen Isabella sent from Poland, to endeavour to obtain succours to re-establish her in Transylvania. But we should first mention the maritime expeditions, which were not less important than those by land.

J.C. 1548,
& 1549,
Heg. 955,
& 956.

Ferdi-
nand's am-
bassador is
treated as a
state prisoner.

The corsair Dragut, a pupil of Barbarossa, had succeeded his master in the confidence of the sultan, and the command of the fleet. During the years 1549, and 1550, he ravaged the coasts of Sicily, Italy, and even Spain; after which, he resolved, like Barbarossa, to procure for himself, under the protection of Solyman, a petty state on the coast of Africa, which should become the port for his vessels and the magazine for his prizes. He first made himself master of several maritime towns of the kingdom of Tunis; and took Africa, a small Moorish republic, by surprise, the principal town of which, situated between Tripoli and Tunis, had a port well fortified.

Barbarof-
sa's succes-
sful ravages
the coasts
of Sicily,
Italy, and
Spain.
J.C. 1549,
& 1550.
Heg. 956,
& 957.

J.C. 1549, & 1550.
Heg. 956, & 957.

The surrender of Africa caused much inquietude to the emperor of the West. This prince foresaw that it would be easier than ever for Dragut to make depredations on the coasts of Naples and Sicily. The knights of Saint John of Jerusalem, masters of Tripoli, were as much interested as the emperor in driving out such an important neighbour. The galleys of Malta and those of the Church joined the fleet commanded by Andrew Doria, to lay siege to it. These united forces proceeded towards the coast of Africa. The place surrendered to the Christians, and the knights of Malta had the principal share in the glory of it. Solymán saw with grief the emperor of the West master of the principal ports of Africa. He had a garrison in the fortress of Goletta, and Tripoli belonged to the knights of Malta, his allies and feudatories. Africa was a place still more important than the two first. There was reason to fear the Christians would penetrate into Egypt, and from thence into Palestine. The valour of the knights of Malta, especially their profession, recalled that ancient spirit of crusades, which, three centuries before, had done so much mischief to the Christians and Mussulmen. The latter were afraid of seeing them revived in a time when the Europeans knew better how to fight, and their armies were better disciplined. The siege of Tripoli was resolved on in the divan of Constantinople. In this assembly

The Christians re-
take Africa.

sembly the knights of Malta were represented to the sultan, as pirates of whom it was highly requisite to destroy all the haunts; but this prince believed these reputed pirates to be subjects of Charles V. because they had marched in Africa under the command of his generals, and all the places which they possessed had belonged to the emperor of the West. Accordingly, Solyman made a scruple of attacking a monarch with whom he was in alliance, without having complained of some violation of treaty. He sent therefore to the court of Charles V. not an ambassador, but a chiau, which is a kind of herald, to summon that prince to restore him the places which he had taken on the coast of Africa. Charles V. replied, that all those towns belonged to the kingdom of Tunis, which was tributary to the crown of Castile; that his generals had retaken them from Dragut, whom he regarded as a pirate, and not as the admiral of the grand seignior. In consequence of this answer, the successor of Barbarossa was raised to the dignity of sangiak, in order that his being in the service of the Porte might be less doubtful. He received orders to prepare all his corsairs for an expedition against the knights of Malta, whilst a considerable fleet was arming in the port of Constantinople, which Sinan bashaw was to command, with the assistance of Dragut's advice. Though the Order of Malta was not subject to the emperor of the West,

J.C. 1551.
Heg. 958.

The Turks
prepare for
the siege of
Tripoli.

J.C. 1551.
Heg. 958.
West, as Solyman had always believed it, the grand master, John Domedès, a Spaniard by birth, and a thorough Austrian in his heart, professed a blind submission to Charles V. his ancient master. At the time when the Infidels were menacing the Order with all their maritime forces, Domedès sent the galleys of Malta to reinforce the Neapolitan fleet, which guarded the gulf of Venice, whilst Doria was gone to conduct Philip II. into Spain with the galleys of his father the emperor. In vain did the knights oppose in the council this dissipation of the forces so necessary to them: Domedès constantly denied that the preparations of the Turks threatened the possessions of his Order. He pretended to have received secret intelligence, and that this great armament of Solyman's was intended to assist France against Charles V. Thus, by the credit and authority of the grand master of Malta, the port of the island was left defenceless, and the Order deprived of the liberty of sending succours to the place where a powerful enemy was preparing to attack them. Domedès sent to Tripoli, only two hundred Calabrians, which were at that time at Malta; he placed at their head thirty knights, all young men whose irregularities had caused them to be shut up in the prisons of the Order. This was all the succours which the representations of several great officers of the Order could obtain for Tripoli. There
were

were at that time in the place, only some old infirm knights, whom the salubrity of the air had drawn thither, and who commanded natives that were Mussulmen, and consequently but little attached to their masters. The grand master repeated so often that the preparations of the Turks were not intended for either Malta or Tripoli, that they began to believe him, and the knights resumed their tranquillity, when all of a sudden they perceived the Ottoman fleet making towards the island. It was composed of a hundred and twelve galleys, carrying twelve thousand janissaries, thirty pinks, and several transports. Sinan bashaw, who commanded it, was ordered to undertake nothing of consequence but by the advice of Dragut his lieutenant. His instructions were to lay siege to Tripoli, and to endeavour, by the way, to take the isle of Malta. The fleet had a favorable wind, and soon arrived in the port called Marsamuscet, which is separated from the great port only by a neck of land, on which is a very steep rock. All the natives were instantly seized with terror; and, spite of the valour of the knights, the isle of Malta, which the grand master Domedès had obstinately refused to provide with provisions and troops, would most probably have been the prey of the Turks who landed there, but for the stratagem of a knight, the receiver for the Order, who resided at Messina.

J.C. 1551.
Heg. 958.

The Turks
make an
unsuccessful attempt
on Malta.

The

J.C. 1581.
Heg. 958.

The Turks, ready to begin the siege, took, in the evening, a small bark, which seemed to want to land secretly on the coast; but care had been taken to let it be perceived. The master affected as if he would throw some papers into the sea: he succeeded, as he wished, for these papers, being perceived, were seized in his hands, and carried immediately to Sinan bashaw, who found in them a letter from the receiver of Messina addressed to the grand master. It contained in substance, that Andrew Doria was just arrived from Spain and then in the port; that he had dispatched brigantines to all the other ports of the island, to Naples and to Genoa, to order back to him all the galleys and vessels that were in a situation to keep the sea, with the troops necessary to arm them; and that he would oblige the Turks to raise the siege immediately. This supposed intelligence had all the effect which the inventor of the trick had expected. Sinan bashaw assembled the council, read this letter to the chiefs, and represented, that, if Doria should come and attack his fleet whilst the troops were on shore employed in the siege, the Turks would undoubtedly have the disadvantage, and would miss the siege of Tripoli, the sole object of their embarkation. Dragut, who at first had advised the siege of Malta, no longer presumed to oppose the will of the bashaw. The Turks decamped, and directed their course towards Tripoli. We have

have already observed that the garrison of this place was neither numerous nor well disciplined; but Gaspard Valier, of the nation of Auvergne, who commanded there, was a knight of valour and military talents, and much respected in the Order, of which he was marshal and grand cross. The day after the arrival of the fleet at Tachora, which is only four leagues from Tripoli, Sinan bashaw sent a subaltern officer thither, carrying a white flag. This man advanced as far as the rampart, where he planted a cane, to which was fastened a paper: he left word that he would return the next day for an answer. It was found expressed in the following terms: “Sur-
 “ render to the mercy of the grand seignior,
 “ who has commanded me to reduce this place
 “ under his power, and I will give you leave
 “ to retire with all your effects; otherwise I
 “ will have you all put to the sword. *Signed*
 “ SINAN BASHAW.” The governor, resolved to make a good defence, notwithstanding the inequality of his forces, caused the following answer to be placed on the cane. “The defence
 “ of Tripoli has been intrusted to me by my brethren, and I cannot surrender the place to any
 “ one but him who shall be nominated to me
 “ by the grand master and council of my Order.
 “ I will defend it against all others whilst I have
 “ life. *Signed* MARSHAL GASPARD VALIER.”

J.C. 1551.
Heg. 958.

They arrive before Tripoli, & summon the town to surrender.

The

J.C. 1551.
 Reg. 953.

The bashaw made his fleet advance immediately. The landing was effected without the least opposition, because the knights would not weaken the garrison. Sinan bashaw and Dragut had full leisure to examine the out-works. Besides the garrison's consisting only of two hundred Calabrians, whom we have spoken of, and four hundred Moors, who, though Mussulmen, were enemies of the Turks, the town was but badly fortified. The knights of Saint John had several times requested Charles V. to take this dangerous present off their hands; but that prince chose rather to have a place so important and weak defended and repaired by the Order of Malta, than by himself. The present which he had made them of the isle or rather rock of Malta, neither diminished his authority nor his finances. He gave these religious soldiers a rock which did not seem intended by nature to nourish men; for at that time there were scarcely four thousand inhabitants in the whole island, who led a languishing life, and could not flatter themselves with removing their misery by labour. It was necessary to have the riches which the Order of Saint John of Jerusalem possessed throughout Christendom, and the courage, industry, and attachment of the knights to their institution, to render this island so flourishing as we see it at this day. Charles V. foresaw, that, by giving Malta to the knights of St. John, he should establish

blish a strong citadel, well advanced in the sea, J. C. 1551.
Reg. 958. for the defence of Sicily and his other possessions in Italy; and he hoped that the knights, by repairing Tripoli, would preserve him an entrance into Africa, or that, if Christendom must lose that place, it might not be lost in his hands.

They were just going to open the trenches, when a Maltese brigantine, carrying French colours, arrived in the middle of the fleet, saluting the grand seignior's flag. The captain galley returned the salute; and whilst every one was in the greatest astonishment, they saw get into a shallop, which the bashaw had dispatched to the brigantine, Lewis Daramont, ambassador from France to the Porte. This minister, sent for the second time to Constantinople, had put into the isle of Malta a few days after the departure of the Ottoman fleet. On the repeated solicitations of the principal officers of the Order, he thought he should render his master a great service, and not exceed his powers, if he could prevent the Turks from besieging Tripoli. Leaving at Malta the two galleys which were to convey him to Constantinople, he embarked in a light brigantine to endeavour to prevent the operations of the siege, relying on his intimacy with Sinan bashaw, by whom he was received in fact with distinction. The French ambassador represented to the general, that the Order of Malta was no way subject to the emperor of the West, and

Arrival of
the French
ambassador
at the
Turkish
army.

J.C. 1551. that it was not at war with the Porte; that this
 Heg. 958. republic, composed of gentlemen from all the
 nations of Christendom, was the intimate ally of
 his master Henry II.; that the king of France
 would take it as a great favor of the Porte to
 spare this town, over which the emperor of the
 West had no longer any right; and that the
 knights were not so devoted to Charles V. as the
 Turks seemed to think. Instead of making a
 reply, the bashaw shewed his orders. The am-
 bassador, seeing that the Turk was deaf to his
 reasons and prayers, said he would proceed with
 all haste to Constantinople, as he was sure of be-
 ing heard by the grand seignior, and that he
 would return in time to prevent the town from
 being taken. Sinan replied, that he could not
 permit him to go before the end of the siege;
 and, without respecting the law of nations, which
 the Turks know but little of, he instantly ordered
 the brigantine which had brought the ambassador
 to be unrigged. Except this violence, he was
 treated with all the respect due to his character.

Com-
 mence-
 ment of
 the siege.

Sinan bashaw, without loss of time, had the
 trenches opened, and three batteries erected near
 the weakest part of the place, in order that
 the fire might be continual. Whilst the cannon
 of two of these batteries were charging and cool-
 ing, the third fired. By this manner of proceed-
 ing the breach was soon open, and the Turks
 conceived hopes of not remaining a long time be-
 fore

fore Tripoli. They would have been still more certain of it if they had known what was passing in the place. The knights who served under marshal Valier were not all equally attached to their duty. The major part regarded their chief, rather as a Frenchman who took too much on himself, in undertaking to defend a place open and badly fortified, and in exposing to certain death soldiers who were not his own, than as a knight of St. John, who respected the honor of his Order. The indiscreet discourse of those whose duty it was to shew a good example, soon spread among the soldiery. The whole garrison was seized with terror. The slaves presently refused to repair the breaches. Stretched on the ground, they suffered themselves to be loaded with stripes, rather than expose themselves to the fire of the batteries. A French servant at arms, called Desroches, to whom the defence of a small fortress advanced into the sea had been intrusted, where he commanded thirty Calabrians, discovered, that his soldiers meant to desert in a boat, after they should have set fire to a train which was to blow up a powder magazine near the fortress. Desroches immediately informed marshal Valier of it. It was equally dangerous to appear to know, or to be ignorant of this horrid plot. The grand marshal, under different pretences, withdrew all these accomplices from their post before the time agreed on for their flight, and had the powder magazine

J.C. 1551.
Heg. 958.

The garrison is
mutinous

J.C. 1551.
 Reg. 958.

magazine carefully guarded. But these traitors, dispersed over the town, soon raised an insurrection among their comrades. As the Turkish batteries kept up a very destructive fire, the Calabrians abandoned their walls, drawing after them several Moors, and ran to declare to Valier, that they would not expose themselves to certain death to defend a place which it was impossible to save. The grand marshal, grieved to the very heart, ordered the council to be assembled. He complained bitterly against the discouragement and want of discipline; and gave to understand, that all the knights were not exempt from the blame which he threw on the Calabrians. He endeavoured, by a pathetic discourse, to reanimate their lost valour, and asked advice from all the members of the council on the state of the place and how to act. Commander Depoissieu, of the nation of France, who spoke first, declared, that the breach was too steep for there being any reason to fear the assault, and that the dignity of the Order, and of the knights to whom Tripoli was intrusted, demanded that this trust, for which they were accountable to all Christendom, should be surrendered, only when it was no longer possible to defend it. Commander Herrera, a Spaniard, exclaimed, that Depoissieu spoke like a Frenchman the friend of the Turks, who had nothing to fear, either for his life or liberty, in case the town should be taken by assault, as the king of France

France had an ambassador in the enemy's fleet; but that the subjects of Charles V. the irreconcilable enemies of the Infidels, had no quarter to expect from them, and that he was for saving the liberty and lives of several brave men, whilst it was yet in their power; that they could not be expected to preserve a place which no prince in Christendom attempted to succour. Those, who spoke after Herrera, desired to have the breach inspected. Meanwhile, chevalier Copier was dispatched to the rebels, to reproach them gently with their revolt and cowardice. He assured them, that, on the exact report which should be made to the council of the state of the breach, the future proceedings would depend: the mutineers declared they would not separate 'till after this inspection, and that they would not trust to any one but a Spaniard for a report of the state of the place. It was necessary to consent. A soldier, called Guevar, was sent with two knights to examine the works. The report made by this Spaniard absolutely contradicted that of the two other commissioners, who affirmed, that the assault could not succeed, if the breach were ever so little defended. Guevar cried to the mutineers, that a few shot more from the cannon would entirely destroy the wall, and that it was impossible to prevent the enemy from being in the place before the day was over. The clamours of the Calabrians having raised up all the

J.C. 1551.
Heg. 958.

They inspect the breaches. The garrison and some knights oblige the grand marshal to capitulate.

J.C. 1551.
Heg. 958.

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the people, they threatened to open the gates and call the enemy from the top of the ramparts. The council, affrighted, seeing that it was impossible to resist both within and without, ordered a servant at arms to hoist a white flag. The batteries immediately ceased firing, and two Turks advancing to the foot of the breach, found two Spanish knights there; for the mutineers, more masters in the place than the governor, would not permit a Frenchman to make the capitulation. These two deputies were conducted to the bashaw, who, by way of preliminary, demanded, that the Order should indemnify the grand seignior for the expense of the war. The knights having answered that that clause was not in their power, they were about to be sent back; when the corsair Dragut represented to the bashaw, how dangerous it was to reduce to despair such brave men as the knights of Malta, particularly when there was reason to fear their being succoured; he added likewise, with a Carthaginian subtilty, that Sinan would have it in his power to interpret the treaty as he pleased when the janissaries should have gotten possession of the town. The idea of this perfidy pleased the bashaw. The deputies were recalled, and Sinan swore by the head of his master, to preserve the liberty of all the knights, of all the garrison, and of all the inhabitants of Tripoli; to prevent the pillaging of the town, and (on being paid) to provide

The bashaw seems difficult on the articles of capitulation.

He at last accepts it.

vide vessels for all those who should want them, to retire either to Malta or any Italian port. J.C. 1551.
Heg. 958.

The bashaw told the deputies, that he wished to see the governor, to consult with him about the number of transport vessels, and the safety of the voyage from Tripoli to Malta. He sent a hostage to Tripoli for the security of the governor. He draws
marshal
Valier to
his camp,
and retains
him prisoner
there.

It was contrary to the laws of war, and still more against the rules of prudence, for a governor to go out of his place in any other manner than at the head of his garrison. Marshal Valier was unwilling to commit this fault, which had every appearance of being attended with the most disagreeable consequences. But the eagerness of the Spaniards, and the clamours of the garrison and a mutinous populace, convinced him that he was no longer of any consequence in Tripoli. It was even decided, that, in order to shew a greater confidence to the bashaw, marshal Valier should carry him back his hostage. This respectable old man, seeing that he had against him even those who were most interested in supporting his authority, yielded to circumstances. He was about to leave the place alone with the hostage, whom they obliged him to carry back, when chevalier Montfort, his friend, requested his permission to accompany him to the Turkish camp. The hostage, who had had time to discover part of what passed in Tripoli, informed Sinan of it before the governor was introduced to

J.C. 1551.
Heg. 958.

him. This discovery made the bashaw more barbarous and unjust than ever. He haughtily demanded of the marshal, if he had brought the money to indemnify the sultan for the expences of the present war. Valier having replied, that he abided by the capitulation which the bashaw had signed, and sworn to by the head of his master: "It would be very pretty indeed, " cried Sinan, if Mussulmen were obliged to " keep their words with dogs like you." He then reproached the two knights with the vessels of their Order having continued, without intermission, to take prizes from the subjects of the grand seignior, ever since they were established at Malta, though, by the capitulation of Rhodes, they had engaged, never to carry arms against the Ottomans. The grand marshal having expressly denied there being any such clause in the capitulation of Rhodes, and having offered to send to Malta for it, where the original was kept, to prove the truth of what he advanced, Sinan was so enraged, that he ordered him to be disarmed and loaded with chains. Valier then turning to chevalier Montfort, said: " Brother, if " you return to Tripoli, tell commander Copier, " and all my brethren, from me, to no longer " count me in the number of the living; that as " to the rest, they will do what their honor and " duty require of them." Montfort returned in fact, with orders from the bashaw to threaten the knights

knights with being sold, they, all the foldiers of the garrison, and all the inhabitants of Tripoli, if they did not instantly send him a certain sum which the historians don't mention. Montfort's arrival put Tripoli into a consternation, and filled all the knights, even the Spaniards, with grief and shame. After having mutually sworn to die rather than suffer slavery, they embraced one another, and determined to charge a mine made under a bastion near the breach; and in the moment when the Turks should take the town by assault, to set fire to the powder, and blow up all the knights with the bastion. They had nothing to expect either from the Calabrians or the Moors, who remained in a pensive silence, and answered only by sobs to the importunities that were made them to sell dearly their lives. However, the next morning at break of day, Sinan and Dragut, having reflected on the extremity to which they were reducing such brave men, sent for the marshal before chevalier Montfort was returned to the camp: "Well," said Sinan to him, "has the night better advised you. Are you resolved to pay me the sum I demand?" Valier replied, "It is not to me you must address yourself: I am no longer of any consideration in Tripoli, as my chains have put an end to my authority; but if my brethren would follow my advice, they would grant you nothing beyond what you have agreed to. As

VOL. II. G 2 " for

J.C. 1551. " for the rest, my life is in your hands, as well
 Heg. 958. " as my person." The two Turks having again

He con- consulted together sometime, Sinan held out his
 sents a fe- hand to the marshal: " Let nothing more be
 cond time pitulation, " said of new conditions, said he to him, I ratify
 to the ca- " the first, and consent to the liberty of all the
 pitulation, " Christians in Tripoli: you may go and assure
 and again " your comrades of it, and order them to leave
 breaks it, " the place with the garrison."

causing the " Experience had but too much taught marshal
 knights, Valier not to trust to Sinan's promises. He
 who left Tripoli on the faith of his word, to
 of his be loaded with
 word, to chains.

Experience had but too much taught marshal Valier not to trust to Sinan's promises. He again excused himself on account of his captivity from carrying these pretended-good news. The bashaw sent to Tripoli the same officer who had already been there in quality of hostage. On his arrival, the people and soldiers flocked about him; and as he published the object of his mission before he entered to the council, these cowards, without waiting to know if the capitulation were accepted, ran out in a crowd through the breach, because the gates were shut. When the Turkish envoy appeared before the knights, there was no one left in Tripoli but a few citizens, women, and children. There was no choice to take: the knights, having assembled at the foot of the wall, marched out in a body, in hopes to join their general. As they advanced into the plain, they learned, that those, who had quitted the town, were all loaded with chains. These news presaged what was about to happen; but

but it was no longer time to resist, being in so small a number, on foot, in the middle of a plain, armed only with their swords. In fact, they were presently surrounded by a troop of cavalry, who completely disarmed them. They were stripped and loaded with chains, and were going to be dragged into the holds of the vessels; but the French ambassador, exasperated at this breach of faith, haughtily demanded of the bashaw the liberty of all the French and his own. He gave him to understand, that he had no longer a pretext for hindering him from repairing to the grand seignior's court; that he, Daramont, would obtain from Solyman, what could not be refused him without a violation of the laws of war, and with an intent to offend his master, the sovereign of all the French knights.

The barbarian did not dare refuse such a powerful solicitation; and Daramont, master of the fate of his countrymen, ran to strike off their irons. When he delivered his countrymen, he was touched with the fate of the German and Spanish knights, whom he saw, almost all, very young, exposed to the most horrid misery and to the greatest danger both for their faith and morals. The French ambassador obtained their liberty likewise, on condition of his procuring the grand seignior the restoration of thirty Turks, of high rank, who were slaves at Malta, for as many foreign knights; and he immediately set

J.C. 1551.
Heg. 958.

The French
ambassador
obtains
their liber-
ty.

J.C. 1551. set sail with them for Malta, in order to fulfil
 Heg. 958. his engagement.

The servant at arms, Desroches, crosses the Turkish fleet with twenty men, and conducts them safe to Malta.

Meanwhile, Desroches, the French servant at arms who commanded in the little fort which we have spoken of, and who was the first that discovered the bad disposition of the Calabrians, had not quitted his post, because he had received no orders. Having learned that the soldiers, and even the knights, who left Tripoli, were in irons, he resolved to defend his liberty to the last, and that of the twenty soldiers he had left. The cannon had not yet beaten down their wall; they prolonged the defence 'till night; when, either through the Turks' being taken up with more important objects, or that the situation of the place favored the flight of the Christians, Desroches and his twenty soldiers got into a skiff, passed across the Ottoman fleet, and gained the isle of Malta. The next day, Sinan bashaw introduced Morad aga into Tripoli, according to the orders that he had received from his master, and declared him sovereign of the town and its territory, tributary to the Porte. We know not why this place was not given to Dragut, who had contributed more than any other person to its reduction, and to whom it should seemingly have supplied the place of Africa.

J.C. 1552, Sinan bashaw brought back his fleet to Con-
 & 1553. stantinople, where Solyman was too much taken
 Heg. 959, up with family affairs to think of new conquests.
 & 960.

He

He had four sons. Mustapha, the eldest, adored ^{J.C. 1552, & 1553.} by the troops, and beloved by the people, was ^{Heg. 959, & 960.} governor of Amasia, where his step-mother, Roxalana, had caused him to be exiled. The three others, Selim, Bajazet, and Géanger, were sons of the empress: it was thus they called the sultaneſs become the lawful wife of Solyman. These princes had been brought up under the eyes of their mother, who divided very unequally her affection among them. She could never pardon Géangir's extreme attachment to Mustapha his eldest brother. Bajazet, of an advantageous figure, ambitious, ingenious, fawning, and deceitful like his mother, was he whom the heart of that princess had made choice of, and whom she preferred to Selim, though he was her eldest. Roxalana, not contented with being placed on the throne herself, wanted to place Bajazet there also, to the prejudice of two princes who had prior claims. The empress gained over the grand vizier Rustan, to whom she had given one of her daughters in marriage. These two accomplices knew perfectly Solyman's heart. They thought, that the surest way to incense him against his son Mustapha, was to excite his jealousy. The seraglio resounded with nothing but the virtues of Mustapha, his parts, his affability, and greatness of soul, the favors which he bestowed on the citizens of Amasia, and the benedictions with which he was loaded by the people. Roxalana observed

J.C. 1552,
& 1553.
Heg. 959,
& 960.

observed with pleasure the melancholy of Solyman, when he heard the unceasing praises of him whose reign he feared would soon make his be forgotten. The artful princess, seeing that the mind of her husband was prepared to receive all the suspicions she could wish, shewed him a letter from an eunuch, formerly intrusted with the education of Mustapha, and who still continued in his service. This half-man, sold to the empress, informed her, according to their agreement, that Mustapha had a correspondence with the king of Persia; that he was even assured that the prince had asked the Persian monarch for his daughter in marriage, laying hold of the example of Solyman as a pretext for choosing a wife, notwithstanding the usage of the Ottoman princes to the contrary. The eunuch added, that, as it was his duty to give notice of all the prince's proceedings, he could not pass over in silence a matter of such consequence; that the love of the janissaries for Mustapha, and his union with Persia, gave reason to think that he meditated to become sovereign in the life-time of his father, at least of one part of the empire. The grand vizier Rustan appeared deeply struck with these suspicions. He reminded Solyman of the example of his father Selim, who had dethroned Bajazet II.; and he easily raised in him the desire of preventing a conspiracy which fear represented to him as already formed.

Rustan

Rustan set out for Syria at the head of an army hastily collected. The project was to draw Mustapha to the camp, under pretence of giving him the command of the troops, and then to strangle him. The army being arrived before Aleppo, halted without proceeding any farther. † This slow march began to excite suspicion. Rustan had sent to prince Mustapha the orders of his father, to come and take the command of the troops intended against the Persians; but all the friends of that prince, who knew Rustan, Solyman, and Roxalana, advised him not to obey. The camp, like other places, resounded with the praises of Mustapha. Rustan, surrounded by the partisans of the prince, wanted resolution to commit the crime he had meditated. He wrote to Solyman, that he alone had a right to dispose of his son's days. Roxalana soon prevailed on the emperor to join the army. Solyman carried with him as few janissaries and spahis as possible. The timarians and asaps formed this corps, which, otherwise composed, might become formidable to him who had assembled them. On the emperor's arrival at the camp of Aleppo, he ordered his son to come and clear himself of the suspicions conceived against him.

Though the young prince had avoided the snares of Rustan, he would not flee from his father; on the contrary, he hastened to join the army, apparently levied to serve under his com-
 VOL. II. H. mand,

J.C. 1552,
& 1553.
Heg. 959,
& 960.

Death of
Mustapha
& Géangir.

J.C. 1552, & 1553.
 Heg. 959, & 960.

mand, and where all his friends suspected death attended him. His brother Géangir vainly endeavoured to save him from the cruelty of Solyman. Mustapha, who knew that his father had conceived suspicions against him, flattered himself with being heard; he was determined to prove his innocence let what would be the consequence. The faithful Géangir, not being able to screen his brother from the danger which menaced him, resolved to share it with him. He accompanied Mustapha to the camp, declaring he would run the same risks as he should. The public joy announced the arrival of the two princes. They entered the camp, surrounded by a crowd of soldiers, who had run out to meet them. This small triumph served as a funeral pomp to the unfortunate Mustapha. On the arrival of the two brothers at the emperor's tent, they were obliged to separate, as the chiaus were ordered to admit only Mustapha to the audience of the monarch. Géangir, more and more alarmed, never moved from the place where he had been stopped. On Mustapha's being introduced, the chiau pachi demanded of him his sword and poniard. Though this ceremony was common, and no one was allowed to wear arms in the imperial tent, yet it astonished the young prince, as, from a received custom, his brothers and he were exempted from the general law. Mustapha perceived in the grand seignior's tent neither executioners

cutioners nor soldiers; but four mutes, who 'till J.C. 1552, & 1553. then had served only to amuse the monarch by Heg. 959, & 960. their deformity, gestures, and grimaces, to which they had recourse in order to make themselves understood; these monsters fell on Mustapha, holding a bow-string to strangle him with. This is the first and last time that the mutes have been employed in this cruel office. The young prince, all disarmed as he was, defended himself with such incredible courage, that the sultan, who witnessed this horrid sight from behind a curtain, saw that his son was on the point of overcoming the four mutes. He appeared in order to animate the executioners, who at last threw him on the ground and strangled him at the feet of his unnatural father. The tent was immediately opened, and Solyman caused the body of his son to be exposed to the eyes of all those who wished to see it. Géangir ran like the rest. At the sight of the dead body of this brother whom he affectionately loved, and of his father who published aloud the pretended crimes of this virtuous prince, Géangir, drawing his poniard, which had been left him, cried: Monster, neither thou, nor my culpable mother, merits children like us; then plunging it into his own heart, he expired on the dead body of Mustapha all bathed with his blood.*

H 2

The

* Some historians assert that he died suffocated with grief and rage.

This story has been made the subject of an excellent Tragedy, called *ROXELANE ET MUSTAPHE*, which was brought out at the French Theatre in Paris in 1785, and received with great applause. T.

J.C. 1552,
& 1553.
Heg. 959,
& 960.

The soldiers ran with horror to their arms; but this catastrophe did not produce all the effect that might be expected from it. There were but very few janissaries in the army, who loudly demanded the deposition and head of the grand vizier Rustan. This minister was the first to advise his master to take the seals from him: and, having disguised himself, he retired from the public indignation. This was all that the troops obtained to atone for the blood of two princes. The asaps, but little formed for a revolt, quit-
 ted their arms as soon as they heard the degradation of Rustan published, and a general amnesty for all those who would return to their duty.

Solyman, who had feigned the war with Persia only to draw Mustapha to his camp, dismissed the army and returned to Constantinople to enjoy his crime with Roxalana, whose cruelty was not yet fatiated. There remained a son of the unfortunate Mustapha. The empress, in consequence of her credit and hatred, had formerly obtained, that this child should be brought up at a distance from the eyes of his father, who had been obliged to trust him to the slave who was mother to this prince, whom Mustapha loved, and from whom he had separated for the interest of his son. The mother and child lived at Bursa, where they heard of the death of Mustapha. Ibrahim, that was the name of the young prince, was already old enough to be sensible of his misfortune.

Roxalana

Roxalana would not permit an avenger to grow up who would have found hearts and hands to serve him: she prevailed on Solymán to consent to this new parricide, which was enveloped in mystery; for, the young Ibrahim, not being capable of committing any crime, it would have been absurd to accuse him like his father. The sultan sent an eunuch of the seraglio to Bursa, under pretence of letting the mother and son know, that he who had advised the murder of Mustapha was punished, and to assure the young prince of the protection of his grand-father, and the regret he felt at having condemned Mustapha on a suspicion too slightly founded. The traitor Murder of Mustapha's son. insinuated himself so well into the confidence of the mother and son, by appearing to share with them their grief, and living with them in the greatest intimacy, that he found means to separate them, which 'till then had been impossible. The eunuch prevailed on the prince and his mother to take a ride. The young Ibrahim went on horseback with him, whilst the mother followed them in a litter, not being willing on any account to lose sight of such a precious charge. The traitor had had the shaft of the litter sawn half through, so that it could hold but a very little time before it would break down. This litter was covered, like all those used by the Turkish ladies. It was no way difficult to draw the young prince out of sight of the litter, as

Solymán's

J.C. 1552.
& 1553.
Heg. 959.
& 960.

J.C. 1552, & 1553.
Heg. 959, & 960.
Solyman's emissary had foreseen. Ibrahim's mother, left in the middle of the road, and no longer seeing her son, followed on foot like a woman frantic. She soon perceived the body of this dear child stretched lifeless on the ground. The eunuch was fled. The unhappy mother brought back the dead body of Ibrahim, which was interred at Bursa in the tomb of his ancestors, amidst the tears of the people, who sincerely regretted Mustapha, Géangir, and Ibrahim.

J.C. 1554.
Heg. 961.
Bajazet sets up a false Mustapha.
Roxalana was not arrived at the end of her artifices. There remained yet two obstacles between the throne and her son Bajazet. Though Solyman, contrary to all usages, had made her empress, and Selim, the presumptive heir to the sceptre, was likewise her son, her heart spoke only in favor of him who had already caused her to be guilty of more than one crime. Whoever opposed the fortune of Bajazet was not an object of indifference for her, these were so many enemies whom she determined to destroy. Roxalana wanted to get rid of Solyman and Selim as she had of Mustapha; but her fruitful genius had recourse to other wiles. There was among Bajazet's slaves a young man who perfectly resembled Mustapha. The empress conceived the design of making him the hero of an enterprise which should become fatal to her husband and eldest son, not being at a loss how to destroy afterward the instrument which she had made use

use of. She caused this impostor to be instructed, without letting him know, that the empress countenanced the plot. When Bajazet had taught him all the particulars which could make him pass for Mustapha, it was rumoured abroad that this prince was not dead; that, suspecting the fate which was designed for him in the emperor's tent, he had sent thither in his place this slave of Bajazet's, who, some people knew, resembled Mustapha. These accounts were eagerly received by all the servants of that prince. A great many were deceived, and some pretended to be so. Solyman learned in Asia, where he was gone to visit several towns, that Mustapha was risen from his tomb; that several odas had already acknowledged him for their master; and that he was on his march from Adrianople, where he had declared himself, to Constantinople, to seize on the throne, and punish those who thought themselves his murderers. The sultan was very certain that he had not been deceived; but he was equally afraid of being dethroned by a false Mustapha. The illusion of the people might prove fatal to him. He ordered the grand vizier, Achmet, to march against the impostor, and particularly to take him alive. The janissaries, who had hastened in crowds to the false Mustapha, were not long deceived in the resemblance. The soul of a vile slave was very different from that of the hero whom they lamented.

The

J.C. 1554.
Heg. 961.

J.C. 1554.
Heg. 961.

This crime
is disco-
vered.

Roxalana
obtains her
son's par-
don.

The major part were returned to their duty before Achmet had put himself at the head of the troops. At length, according to the emperor's orders, he came up with the few remaining troops of the false Mustapha, defeated them, and made their chief prisoner. This minister, a faithful servant, but a bad politician, put his prisoner to the torture, contrary to Roxalana's secret orders. The false Mustapha discovered every thing that he knew of the intrigue in which he had played such a whimsical part. He did not accuse the empress, as she had not shewn herself, and Bajazet had never mentioned his mother to him; but the prince was declared the instigator and abetter of this impostor. He alone had instructed the false Mustapha: he alone had sustained him and directed his proceedings. Roxalana conveyed her son from the vengeance of an injured and, 'till then, implacable father: she succeeded in concealing him. When the emperor was returned to Constantinople, the empress made use of all her artifice, so natural to her, to obtain Bajazet's pardon. Solyman, who had caused a virtuous son to be put to death before his eyes on base suspicions, pardoned another convicted of a crime the most unpardonable. His weakness for an artful wife formed in his heart what nature would never have formed there: he ordered that Bajazet should appear before him in a house near Constantinople; for
the

the sultan was not willing to have his son return to the seraglio before he had sounded his sentiments. The young prince, whose only resource was in his mother's fondness, resigned himself to her counsels; but, after the example made of Mustapha, a rebel must needs tremble to appear before Solyman. At the time of the interview, his sword and poniard were demanded of him, as had been done to his brother. This circumstance increased Bajazet's fears; but Roxalana, who watched for this dear son, waited for him on his way. From a window, covered with a curtain, she called to him, without being seen:—*corcoma, ogh, corcoma*; that is: don't be afraid, my son, don't be afraid. Bajazet, a little encouraged by the voice of his mother, entered the chamber where Solyman was waiting for him. He threw himself at the feet of his emperor and father, whom he had so much injured in both these characters. The monarch ordered him to rise, and reminded him of all his crimes with a severity mixed with much indulgence. The prince having shewn signs of repentance, which the fear he then experienced rendered apparently sincere, the emperor pardoned his son, and caused a cup to be brought from which he ordered him to drink. Bajazet thought himself poisoned; but resistance was useless, and even dangerous. He just touched the liquor with his lips, and then saw with pleasure that Solyman drank from

J.C. 1554.
Heg. 961.

Interview
of Soly-
man and
Bajazet.

J.C. 1554.
Heg. 961. the same cup in sign of reconciliation. Thus, Bajazet regained his father's favor; but though this revolution ended as it had begun, the grand vizier, Achmet, who, by discovering the real conspirators, had saved his master his throne and life, was sacrificed to Roxalana, who could not pardon him for having accused her son. The pretext taken against him was that of extortion: an accusation which always subsists against the ministers whom it is desired to get rid of. Achmet was condemned to the fatal bow-string, and the seals of the empire were restored to Rustan, the son-in-law and accomplice of Roxalana, who had never been out of favor, and who shared with the empress the advantage of deceiving and governing his master.

J.C. 1555,
& 1556.
Heg. 962,
& 963. Meanwhile, Ernest Scinski had successfully served queen Isabella with the grand seignior. This princess, who would no longer adhere to the treaty concluded with Ferdinand, under pretence of that prince's having broken it the first, reclaimed Transylvania and the assistance of the Turks to re-enter it. The grand seignior caused the troops which he designed for Isabella's son, to be preceded by a manifesto in favor of the house of Zapoli, which threatened the Transylvanians with constant war with the Turks, as long as they should withdraw themselves from an authority which they ought not to forget, as the son of Zapoli, the feudatory of the Porte, had

Queen Isabella makes new efforts to procure her son the restoration of the sovereignty of Transylvania.

had not been able to transfer his inheritance without the consent of his high sovereign. Though Ferdinand was become emperor of the West by the abdication of Charles V. it augmented his power but little in Hungary. Guastaldo, who commanded there for him, had in vain assembled a diet, in order to ask succours of the Transylvanians. The latter, either through ill will or indigence, would not give even the money necessary to pay the Spanish troops, who presently disbanded. Though Solyman kept Ferdinand's ambassador prisoner at his court, yet he sent himself an embassy to that prince to propose a truce, which the emperor of the West voluntarily accepted, on the sole condition of acknowledging Stephen Zapoli, son of Isabella, for sovereign of Transylvania. The emperor of the West resolved to take advantage of this truce, in order to have the crown of Hungary declared hereditary, and to invest his son in it; but the haughty Hungarians maintained, that he held his crown of their election, and would not renounce the privilege of choosing their own master. Ferdinand consented at last to have his son Maximilian elected king of Hungary, hoping that the right of the house of Austria would consolidate itself by a long possession. Solyman, on his side, would have turned this truce into a lasting peace, if domestic troubles had not diverted his attention from the affairs of Europe.

J.C. 1555,
& 1556.
Heg. 962,
& 963.

Truce between the
emperors
of the East
and West.

Maximilian is
elected king
of Hungary.

J.C. 1557.
Heg. 964.

Death of
Roxalana.

Bajazet at-
tempts to
poison his
brother
Selim.

He lost in a few days the person whom he most loved, and who had wronged him most.

Roxalana died of a violent cholic in the arms of the husband from whom she had wanted to take the throne and perhaps life. Solyman's grief could be compared only to the passion which he had constantly had for this ungrateful and artful woman. After this loss, one should have thought that Bajazet would have become more dear to him; but the sultan soon saw, how little this son, whom he had pardoned for such capital faults, was worthy of his affection. Solyman was growing old. Bajazet, accustomed to judge mankind by his own heart, saw with grief Selim ready to become his sovereign. Roxalana's son had always relied on the sultan's weakness; he neglected nothing to get rid of a dangerous elder brother. He attempted to poison this brother whom he did not care at first to attack openly. One of his attendants introduced himself into Selim's kitchen, and threw poison on several dishes intended for the prince. The poisoner was detected before he had executed his design; he acknowledged, in the torments of the rack, that he was only the instrument of Bajazet, Selim referred this crime to Solyman; the proofs of it were clear; but the feeble old man no longer knew how to punish. He contented himself with separating the two brothers. Selim, governor of Magnesia, was ordered to go to Iconia;

nia; Bajazet, governor of Kutaya, received orders likewise to go to Amasia; Selim gained by the change; Bajazet lost by it. This was all the chastisement which Solyman thought the blackest and basest of crimes merited. The government of Amasia was but a bad omen for Bajazet. This was the same which the unfortunate **Mustapha** held, when he perished by the intrigues of his mother-in-law. Selim obeyed instantly; but as to Bajazet, far from going to Amasia, he thought only of establishing himself at Kutaya, of raising contributions, and of laying on new imposts, without law or reason, to contribute towards the expences of a war which he meditated. Solyman resolved to send a vizier to each of his two sons, to have an eye on their conduct. Bajazet, who had reason to conceal his proceedings, would not suffer a spy near him. He sent back **Pertau bashaw**, who had been designed for him, desiring him to interest himself for him with his father, to answer for his submission, and particularly to obtain for him another government than that of Amasia, the ominous name of which terrified him. This pretext, frivolous in appearance, was less so among the Turks than any other nation. Presages with them are powerful reasons; they make prudence consist in knowing when to accept or reject them seasonably. **Pertau bashaw**, who soon discerned Bajazet's real intentions, obeyed without difficulty. He thought to serve

Solyman

J.C. 1557.
Heg. 964.

He refuses
to obey the
order he
receives to
go to
Amasia.

J.C. 1557.
Heg. 964. Solyman better, by confirming to him his son's rebellion, than by remaining a witness of all the proceedings that he had discovered.

The emperor at length saw it was time to chastise an ambitious son, whose designs were as much against him as his brother. The beglerbeg of Greece received orders to collect his forces and enter Bursa, as there was reason to fear Bajazet would make himself master of it. Selim hastened, by order of his father, to take the command there. As Bajazet's numerous friends appeared discontented, Solyman would fain back his authority with a fetfa of the musti before he sent troops against his rebellious son. These fetfas are always an exact answer to a question proposed. That obtained by Solyman against Bajazet was conceived in the following terms.

Fetfa of
the musti.

“ How should he of my subjects be treated who
 “ dares, against my consent, keep possession of
 “ my towns, raise troops and contributions in
 “ them, and disturb the repose of my empire?
 “ what punishment do those merit who fight
 “ for him, and give him assistance? In what
 “ manner should those other subjects be treated
 “ who refuse to take up arms for my defence,
 “ and who say, on the contrary, that the cause
 “ of this revolt is just?” The musti's answer
 was: “ That man and all those of his party de-
 “ serve death. Those, who refuse to carry arms
 “ in such a just cause, should be regarded as
 “ profane

“ profane people, as traitors or renegades, de-
 “ testable to our holy, Mahometan religion.”

J.C. 1557.
 Heg. 964.

Solyman had this fetfa notified to his rebellious son, who replied, that the quarrel between Selim and him ought not to interest their common master and father ; that he, Bajazet, was obliged to attack his brother, in order to defend his own life, and that, if Solyman declared for Selim, he should be obliged, against his will, to carry arms against his sovereign. Bajazet marched immediately to secure the town of Axvar, which he took by assault, and pillaged like the town of an enemy. Notwithstanding the musti's fetfa, the revolted party became considerable: all those who loved war presaged badly of Selim's courage, and joined to wrest from him the empire. Even those who lamented Mustapha had ranged themselves under the standard of his persecutress's son, through hatred of the weakness and cruelty of Solyman. It was feared at the Porte, that, if Bajazet were once master of Iconia, he would easily get possession of all Syria, and stir up the remains of the Mammelukes in Egypt, always ready for a revolt. The lovers of novelty, who always hope to gain in time of trouble and confusion, are more common in Turkey than any where else. Selim, who had the beglerbeg of Greece for lieutenant, kept on the defensive. He conducted his army to Iconia or Cogni, and encamped under the walls of that town, remembering

Bajazet
 arms, and
 marches
 against
 Selim,
 who com-
 mands the
 army of
 his father
 under the
 walls of
 Iconia.

J.C. 1558.
Heg. 965.

bering at the same time to cover all the important places. His brother ardently wished to come to action; he did not long wish in vain. The two armies were nearly equal in number; what forces Selim had more than Bajazet did not terrify that prince, who relied on the zeal of his partisans, on fortune, often favorable to great events, and on the opinion which the troops had of his brother and of him. But, notwithstanding Bajazet's talents and the valour of the rebels, the elements seemed to conspire against him. A violent wind, which blew the sand into the eyes of his soldiers, soon threw all the ranks into confusion. Selim took advantage of it; he had no difficulty to repel combatants who knew not where to direct their blows. This disorder, several times repaired, was unceasingly renewed; at length, Bajazet saw himself obliged to flee. The tempest and clouds of dust which caused his defeat, still pass at this day for a miracle among the Turks.

Bajazet is
beaten.

Selim, contented with his victory, did not pursue the vanquished: he confined his attention to guarding the places intrusted to him, whilst the rebels, dispersed, were seeking to put themselves in safety. The victory of Iconia seemed to increase Solyman's resentment against Bajazet: he set out at the head of some troops to join the army of his son Selim. Anxious to take advantage of this disaster, he would fain crush the rebel in the moment that fortune declared against him.

him. Bajazet, on the contrary, humbled by adversity, fled to Amasia to seem to obey his father, from whence he wrote suppliant letters to him.

J.C. 1558.
Meg. 965.

He flees
into Persia.

The emperor, who was afraid that his son would retire to Persia, feigned to hearken to him; but the prince was informed by secret emissaries that there was no longer any compassion for him in the heart of his father, and that pardon was talked of only to secure vengeance. All the sangiacs who commanded on the frontiers of Persia received the most positive orders to stop Bajazet on his way; this he had foreseen; but as he could think of no other resource, amidst all these dan-

He de-
ceives, by
divers arti-
fices, the
sangiacs
who were
to oppose
his passage.

gers, he resolved to go and request an asylum of the sophi Tachmas, at the head of a good troop of attendants, who would not separate their fortune from his. It was absolutely necessary to pass through the territories of the sangiacs of Sebast and Erzerum. As there were two roads in the first sangiacate, the prince sent two of his attendants by the easiest. These men, who had devoted their lives to him, served their master with a zeal, of which history furnishes but few examples. They caused themselves to be taken, by feigning to hide themselves; and, obstinately refusing to confess who they were, they exposed themselves to those tortures which they could not fail of being put to. Then appearing to yield to their torments, they both said that they were going to join Bajazet: that their mas-

J.C. 1558.
Heg. 965.

ter had taken the opposite road, which, though the longest, was the most likely to conceal him, because it was the least known. The fangiac immediately marched all the troops that were under his command towards the place where the two attendants had directed; and the prince, informed of it, took the shortest road, finding no obstacle there.

It was still necessary to deceive the fangiac of Erzerum. Bajazet had formerly known this officer, who had shewn him some attachment. He sent one of his confidants, to conjure him to have pity on his master's son, reduced, with a few attendants, to the last misery. He requested of him likewise to permit some horses and beasts of burden to pasture in the fruitful meadows of Erzerum. Whether the fangiac really pitied Bajazet, or that he thought the occasion favorable for seizing his person, he wrote the prince, that he might remain in his fangiacate as long as it should be necessary to refresh his fatigued troop. The fangiac went himself to the place where Bajazet was to come; but that prince, during the negociation, had passed by, disguised as a dervis. The governor offered no violence to Bajazet's troop, who took refreshments under his protection. They kept him in expectation of the prince from day to day, then from hour to hour, and at last from moment to moment. When all the horsemen were passed, the fangiac learned

learned too late that Bajazet was on the borders of the Araxes. The two bashaws who had been thus imposed on, vainly pursued their prey; they passed the Araxes with the few troops that they could collect; but the Persian governors forbidding them to advance in arms into the territories of their master, who was not at war with the Ottoman empire, the two sangiacs returned to their governments, where they found orders to repair to the emperor's camp. They there lost their heads for their negligence or want of penetration.

The governors who had prevented the Ottomans from entering Persia, required the son of Solyman to wait on the frontiers for orders from their monarch. Bajazet wrote with great humility to the sopher Tachmas, who permitted, without difficulty, the son of his ally to come to his court to enjoy the laws of hospitality and wait 'till his father's rage should have subsided. Solyman, become suspicious, was afraid lest the Persian should remember his having formerly protected against him the brother of that prince, and that he had carried him into Persia at the head of an army, to sustain pretensions which tended to divide the throne of the sopher. But Tachmas would not defend a rebellious son whom he believed repenting, further than in imploring the clemency of his father. Bajazet's pardon was the only request that an ambassador, sent on

J.C. 1558.
Heg. 965.

purpose from Persia, had orders to make Solyman. The father, irritated, far from attending to these solicitations, demanded his assassinating, rebellious son, and ordered the sophi to be told, that every monarch was interested in the punishment of such crimes. Tachmas undoubtedly would not have given up an unfortunate prince who had requested his protection; but, whilst he was interesting himself for this rebel, whom he had loaded with hospitality, Bajazet was caballing at the court of Persia against his benefactor, and offered some rebels the assistance of the troops that he had brought with him and who were encamped at the gates of Isfahan. The sophi, who kept no troops in his capital like the emperor of the Turks, trembled when he learned that he was about to be besieged on his throne by him whom he protected with so much zeal, and that he was nourishing a serpent in his bosom. Tachmas, without seeming to know any thing of this perfidy, had the address to separate and remove, under different pretences, the followers of Bajazet; and, as soon as he could make himself master of his person, he had him loaded with irons and thrown into a dungeon. All Bajazet's attendants were reduced to slavery. The negotiations of the Persian ambassador then changed their object. Tachmas sent word to Solyman, that it would be dangerous to transport this tiger, who might escape on the road and still cause much mischief; that

that it would be better for the Turkish emperor to send some faithful servants to put him to death in his prison. The sophi demanded likewise to be indemnified for the expences that he had been at, on account of this wicked guest. Solyman and he were soon of one opinion. Two chiaus set out for Ispahan, with the sum demanded. They were ordered to see Bajazet, and to have him strangled before their eyes, as likewise four of his children whom he had carried with him to Persia. When they took this unfortunate prince from the dungeon where he had been shut up for several months, it was with difficulty the Turks could recollect the features of Bajazet, concealed under a bushy, entangled beard, and disfigured by paleness. They could not persuade themselves that this wretch, scarcely covered with some rags, was the son of their emperor. To assure themselves of it they had him shaved, and then strangled him, without permitting him to see his sons, which he had anxiously desired, and whom they put to death after him. Solyman, accustomed to confound the innocent with the guilty, would fain destroy all the shoots of this odious stock. He sent to strangle a little prince whom Bajazet had left in Amasia with his nurse. The chiaus, charged with this execution, had much difficulty to disengage themselves from the caresses of the young child; they were a long time

J.C. 1558.
Heg. 965.

Death of
Bajazet &
his chil-
dren.

J.C. 1560. time without being able to prevail with them-
 Heg. 967. selves to execute this barbarity.

When the news of Bajazet's death arrived at Constantinople, the emperor was taken up with furnishing Dragut with succours to maintain himself on the coast of Barbary, and with preserving him the conquests that he had added to Tripoli, such as the isle of Gerbes which he had taken almost without striking a blow, and which a combined fleet of Spaniards, Sicilians, and Maltese, had wrested from him. Dragut succeeded to chase away from thence Don John de la Cerda, duke of Medina-Celi, viceroy of Sicily.

J.C. 1561,
 & 1562.
 Heg. 968,
 969,
 & 970.

The troops
 of Philip
 II. deliver
 Oran and
 take Pen-
 non de
 Velez,
 aided by
 the knights
 of Malta.

This success encouraged the Turks. They undertook the following year the conquest of Oran, a town situated on the coast of Africa, facing the kingdom of Granada. It had been taken from the Moors by cardinal Ximenès in the year 1509, and new fortified by the attention of that minister. The governor made a vigorous resistance, which gave Philip II. time to send an army to the succour of that place. The Turks, not finding themselves the strongest, re-embarked in sight of the Spanish fleet, with so much precipitation, that they left their cannon behind. For two whole years we see but few motions, either on the side of the Turks, or that of their enemies. Philip II. who desired to be master of the coast of Africa, as much and more than Charles V. had, ordered the siege of Pannon de Velez to be attempted.

attempted. This is a castle situated on the point of a rock, which defends the port and town of Velez, and to which there is no arriving but by a road cut out of the rock. Don Garcia of Toledo, for two years successively, made fruitless efforts to take a place which all the mariners, both Christian and Mahometan, had 'till then thought impregnable. The third year he invited the knights of Saint John, to come and attempt this conquest, which was of great importance to them, as the port of Velez, like those of Algiers and Tripoli, was the haunt of all the Mahometan corsairs. The knights accepted the invitation to the number of six hundred, with twelve hundred land forces, In less than four months, Philip II. was master of the port, town, and castle. The services which the knights of Malta rendered on this occasion, inspired Solyman with the most violent desire to destroy this swarm of warriors, whom he called freebooters, or at least, to drive them from the coast of Africa, where they were become so formidable. An exploit less considerable finally determined the sultan to attempt the conquest of Malta. Seven galleys of the Order fell in with, between the isles of Zante and Cefalonia, a large galleon loaded with the richest merchandises of the East. This vessel was named the sultaneſſes' galleon. The cargo really belonged to the principal assekys who shared between them in rather a large number the favors which

J.C. 1561,
& 1562.
Heg. 969,
& 970.

Reasons
which de-
termine
Solyman to
undertake
the siege of
Malta.

J.C. 1561,
& 1562,
Neg. 969,
& 970.
 which Solyman had formerly bestowed solely on Roxalana. This ship was carrying to Venice the riches which these sultaneſſes intended to exchange for rich ſtuffs, diamonds, cut ſtones, and all the precious trinkets that furniſhed them with the means of pleaſing, and which was the ſole conſolation of their ſlavery. The ſultaneſſes' galleon was taken, after a rather long reſiſtance; and, as we have already remarked, this event contributed as much as the taking of Pennon de Velez, to decide the ſiege of Malta. The complaints of theſe beautiful ſlaves were ſtill more attended to, than thoſe of all the Moors of Africa, who had ſent word to Solyman, that the commerce of the moſt powerful empire on the earth would be inceſſantly deſtroyed by a band of pirates.

J.C. 1563,
& 1564,
Neg. 971,
& 972.
 A famous iman, who preached every Friday at the royal moſque before the emperor, undertook likewiſe, to rouse the prince's zeal, for the deliverance of the great number of ſlaves, groaning in the chains of the knights of Malta. In one of his ſermons, he addreſſed himſelf to the grand ſeignior. After having praiſed his valour, his conqueſts, the laws which he had made, and the wiſdom of his government, he added, that there was nothing wanting to complete the glory of Solyman, but to be the deliverer of ſo many unfortunate Muſſulmen, whoſe property and liberty had been wreſted from them
by

by the corsairs of Malta; that all the true Believers being obliged once in their life to go in pilgrimage to Mecca, the Europeans were unable to acquit themselves of that duty, without risking their liberty and life; that it was for the protector of Islamism, the father of the Faithful, to beat down the enemies of Mahomet, and that the destruction of the pirates of Malta would be more meritorious, than the conquest of the most powerful Christian empire. This boldness succeeded. On leaving the mosque, Solymán ordered his grand vizier to make known, that all the forces of the state were going to be employed against the rock of Malta. The best generals were for attacking the Goletta, Pennon de Velez, Oran, and all the places possessed by the Christians on the coast of Africa first, in order to procure afterward, for the siege of Malta, provisions and other succours from those places nearer the island than the dominions of the grand seignior. They represented, that this steep rock, surrounded by Christian ports, offered nothing but difficulties; that if they could land there, the earth would not furnish subsistence for the troops, and that, in consequence, they must always procure them from the port of Constantinople, whilst these knights, whose bravery the Turks had so many times experienced, could receive succours from all the ports of Italy, Provence, and Spain, and even from those of

J.C. 1563,
& 1564.
Heg. 971,
& 972.

J.C. 1563, & 1564.
 Heg. 971, & 972.

Africa, which the Christians had made themselves masters of; that if the knights of Malta made so many prizes by sea, convoys should be appointed; but that the taking of Malta ought not to be thought of, 'till the neighbouring conquests should furnish the means to take that likewise.

The clamours of the imans and women prevailed over the representations of Dragut and the most experienced generals. All the vessels and galleys that could be found in the ports of the empire, in a situation to keep the sea, were armed with the greatest haste. Solyman even sent engineers in disguise to Malta, who, under pretence of trading with the island, took a plan of all the fortifications. The grand master, Valette, convinced that the armament of the Turks menaced his island, took every precaution that prudence and courage could dictate to him. He issued a general citation to all the knights, scattered over the different provinces of Christendom. On their arrival, the grand master distributed them at the head of the Maltese, who, almost all, had carried arms, and of whom he formed companies of infantry. The Order implored the assistance of the pope and the different Christian potentates. The pontiff, Pius IV. sent a sum of money. The knights received but little succour from France, which was at that time rent by civil wars. Philip II, more interested than any other European

European prince to defend this island, which J.C. 1563, & 1564, served as a bulwark to all his Italian possessions, Heg. 971, & 972, ordered the viceroy of Sicily to have an eye upon the preservation of the isle of Malta, and to send his fleet to the assistance of his faithful allies as soon as the siege should be begun. The viceroy imparted these orders to John Valette, who, notwithstanding, was not less active in collecting all the forces which his Order could furnish him with.

The isle of Malta, situated between Sicily and Africa, is two hundred and seventy miles from Tripoli. It is sixty Italian miles in circumference, about twenty long, and twelve broad. It has the isle of Candia towards the east; three small islands, called Pantalaria, Linosa, and Lampedosa, towards the west; Sicily towards the north; and the kingdom of Tunis towards the south. On this last side, Malta is surrounded by sands and inaccessible rocks; but in advancing towards the west and north, there are several roads fit to receive vessels. On the east, there are two large ports, in the middle of one of which is a small island, which serves for those who come from the East to perform quarantine in. This port is called Marsamuffet, and the other the Grand Port. They are separated by a narrow piece of land, at the extremity of which is situated a fortress, called fort Saint Helme. The side of the Grand Port, opposite to the narrow piece of

J.C. 1565,
Heg. 972.

Description of the
isle of
Malta.

J.C. 1565.
Heg. 972.

land where the castle of Saint Helme is situated, is divided into several creeks, which form several small ports in the Grand one. The castle of Saint Angelo, the only fortress that was in the island when the knights of Saint John took possession of it, is on the point of one of these narrow pieces of land which form those creeks near the centre of the Grand Port. On the same narrow piece of land, behind the castle of Saint Angelo, is Il Borgo or the Burgh, which they called the victorious City after the raising of the siege. Lastly, another narrow piece of land parallel, and extending further into the port than the former, is terminated by a very steep rock, on which is another small fortress, built by the grand master Lafangle, whose name it bears. The City-notable, the capital of the island, is more than six miles from the sea. By the exact review which Valette made of his forces, he found in the island seven hundred knights, without counting the lay brothers and half crosses, and eight thousand five hundred men, foreign troops and inhabitants of Malta. The grand master divided the defence of the posts between the different nations, in order that they might be constantly intrusted to the same chiefs, as had been done at the two sieges of Rhodes. This was a certain way to attach every one more to his duty. Commander Copier, who had succeeded commander Valier in the dignity of marshal of the Order, was ordered to be continually traversing

travcrsing the island at the head of two hundred horse, and a corps of six hundred foot, to watch the moment of the landing, and to fall on the Turks that should separate from the main army.

J.C. 1565.
Heg. 972.

At length the Ottoman fleet appeared off Malta the 18th of May 1565. It was composed of a hundred and fifty-nine vessels with oars, both galleys and galliots, carrying forty thousand land forces, all janissaries, spahis, or other chosen troops. Piali, who commanded the fleet, was a favorite of Solyman's, whom that prince had found under a plough-share almost immediately after his birth. The sultan, touched with the fate of this little creature, was willing that the good fortune which it had had to be found by the emperor, should in future render this child as much worthy of envy as it had been of pity. Having had him brought up and instructed with all the attention requisite to be paid to a subject intended to fill the greatest employs, he made him bashaw of the bench, or one of the viziers, and gave him the command of the fleet intended for the expedition against Malta. The command of the land forces was given to Mustapha, an old warrior, who had distinguished himself in the Persian and Hungarian wars. These two chiefs were ordered to undertake nothing without the participation of Dragut the corsair, the greatest mariner of his time, the natural enemy of the knights of Malta, and more interested

Landing of
the Turks.

J.C. 1565.
Heg. 972.

interested than any other person in their destruction. Dragut designed sixteen vessels for this expedition. As he had not yet joined the fleet, Piali, faithful to the grand seignior's orders, would fain have waited for Dragut before the landing took place: but Mustapha, who knew the value of time and opportunity in war, debarked in a creek through favor of the night. The two ports were too well defended by batteries, to permit them to hope for an entrance there before they should be masters of the island. The next day, the Turkish council assembled to decide if they should begin the siege before the arrival of Dragut. Piali was for conforming strictly to the grand seignior's orders, which forbade them to do any thing without him; but Mustapha was afraid of the arrival of this fleet with which they were threatened, more particularly as the Ottoman fleet was not in safety in the road called Mar-fasiroc, where the vessels were exposed to several winds.

Attack of
fort Saint
Helme.

Mustapha, who commanded in chief, put an end to the discussion by determining to attack forthwith the fort St. Helme, the taking whereof, which appeared to him very easy, would open a harbour for the fleet of the besiegers. This fortress was situated at the extremity of the neck of land which separates the two ports. The prior of Capoue, who built it, thought of little more than defending these two ports. The works
which

which covered the fort, even on the land side, J.C. 1565.
Heg. 972. were neither sufficiently raised, nor enough in number, to render this citadel as secure as it might have been made. Guerras, a Spaniard, bailiff of Negropont, having conceived the necessity of defending this post with men, which was not sufficiently so by intrenchments, asked permission of the grand master to shut himself up there with sixty young knights of the different nations. Valette joined to this chosen troop one Spanish company, commanded by chevalier John Lacerda, and another company, Piedmontese, commanded by chevalier Broglia. Malta, as we have several times said, is nothing but a rock, on which there are in some places two or three feet of a stony soil; it is difficult to open a trench there; but the general, resolved to take fort Saint Helme, invested it on the land side, marked out his camp just by it, and began to erect batteries. The trenches were opened with great difficulty; but hard as was the ground, and in spite of the continual fire from the castle, the workmen found means to shelter themselves. In those places where it was impossible to penetrate the rock, the pioneers raised parapets with pieces of wood and planks filled up on the outside with earth brought from a great distance. All these works cost a great number of pioneers and slaves, whom Mustapha lavished the blood of. The batteries killed a great number of spahis

J.C. 1565. his, who, though intended to serve on horseback,
 Heg. 972.

are employed in sieges in these forts of works, and remain a long time quite exposed to the enemy's fire. At length the Turks battered in breach the 24th of May, six days after the arrival of the fleet in sight of Malta. Though the cannon of the fort replied to that of the Turks, the space exposed to their batteries was so narrow, that the balls, continually striking on the same places, soon made breaches. There were not people enough in the place to repair them. The bailiff of Negropont sent chevalier John Lacerda to the grand master to request succours. This officer shewed much weakness before the council assembled. He declared, that it was impossible to defend fort St. Helme more than a week; that the breaches would incessantly become irreparable; that the cannon killed as many men as it beat down stones, and that this was a patient already sick attacked by an incurable malady. The grand master impatiently heard a recital which fear exaggerated. "I will be the doctor for this sick patient," cried he; "and if I cannot cure you of your fright, as I despair, I will take care that the patient shall not perish." And indeed Valette was going to throw himself into the fort at the head of the succours which he intended for it; but all the knights opposed it. The general's talents and prudence were wanted every where; his life was

too precious to be exposed like that of a common soldier. He sent three companies to fort Saint Helme: more than sixty knights, officers or volunteers, hastened thither with these troops. He ordered batteries to be constructed, which cannonaded the Turkish camp, whilst the latter battered in breach the curtain of the fort.

J.C. 1565.
Heg. 972.

They send
succours
thither.

Meanwhile, the succours from Sicily, which the Maltese relied on so much, were not arrived. The grand master feared, with reason, that, when the fleet should appear before the island, the fort would have surrendered; that then the Spaniards, who had many other interests, believing Malta lost, would not debark, for fear of wasting their forces to no purpose. He dispatched a knight to the viceroy of Sicily, to hasten the execution of his promises. Though the Turks pressed their operations with earnestness, they had not blocked up any of the forts. By means of light barks, Valette had a communication with all these forts, and could keep up a correspondence abroad. He sent to the viceroy of Sicily, a copy of the signals which he was to make use of to announce his arrival. The latter, who without doubt had orders to retard which he would not acknowledge, repeated his promises to the envoy of the grand master, assuring him, that, within a fortnight, the Spanish fleet should appear before Malta. These delays were more particularly distressing, because the

J.C. 1565.
Heg. 972.

Turkish batteries made considerable progress, and, after having repulsed several sallies, the Turks had found means to lodge themselves on the counterscarp, which they had taken in pursuing the besieged. They were so near the half-moon which defended the body of the fort, that almost every shot succeeded.

Whilst they were closely besieging fort Saint Helme, Dragut entered the road where the Ottoman fleet was, with sixteen vessels. This reinforcement animated the besiegers, still more by the esteem which they had for the commander, than by the importance of the succour. Dragut, well skilled in the use of artillery, erected new batteries immediately on his arrival. As the half-moon was greatly exposed, and soldiers fell there every moment, chevalier Lacerda, who had seen some men killed by his side, proposed to blow up this work, lest the enemy should come and lodge themselves there, as they had done on the counterscarp. This timorous advice filled with indignation all those that heard it. The janissaries, after having fired a long time almost close, in order to protect their comrades who came to place ladders at the foot of the work, mounted to the assault before the knights had had time to man the ramparts. The slaughter was terrible: the Maltese soldiers, who ran to the assistance of their comrades, precipitated the assailants with great address and force; but they were immediately

diately seized by those who had found no obstacle in scaling the parapet. In fine, the combat lasted four hours on this single work; it cost the Turks three thousand men, and the Maltese a hundred and fifty soldiers and thirty knights. The numerous army of the Turks having at length driven this handful of soldiers, the Maltese drew from the ramparts six knights all covered with wounds, but who still breathed. Being returned into the body of the place, they embarked them that they might procure some assistance in the Burgh. The feeble Lacerda had mixed himself among them, under pretence of a contusion, which was not even visible; Valette afflicted at this example, 'till then unknown in his Order, had this coward put in arrest, whose weakness he pitied, though he was resolved to have him punished by a court-martial. The bailiff of Negropont and commander Broglio, both wounded and in an advanced age, refused to quit the fort, whatever importunity was made them. They desired a reinforcement from the grand master, to supply the place of those heroes that they had lost.

J.C. 1565.
Heg. 972.

The half-moon of the fort is carried by the Turks.

Meanwhile the Turks, indefatigable workers, by means of facines and earth, so raised the half moon which they had just taken possession of, that it commanded the parapet of the place. They erected a battery there, and, by favor of the almost continual fire which kept the Maltese from

J.C. 1565.
Heg. 972. the rampart, constructed a bridge with large trees, yards of vessels, and large thick planks. This work, which they covered with earth, left the knights should find means to burn it, raised the Turks more than twenty feet from the bottom of the ditch towards the parapet. It could contain eight men a-breast, and favored the assault. The knights were obliged to appear continually along the rampart, in order to defend it; and as soon as the parapet was manned, those who were on the bridge throwing themselves flat on the earth, the cannon made a terrible slaughter of the besieged. In a sally, the Maltese set fire to the beams which supported this fatal bridge; but it was soon repaired by the activity of Dragut, who exposed his life and those of his people. The Maltese had already lost fifty knights, and near five hundred soldiers; their artillery was dismounted every moment, and they had but few men left to defend large breaches where an assault would soon be practicable. In this extremity, the knights sent to the grand master chevalier Medran, who had distinguished himself in several sallies, and whose bravery could not be suspected. He requested barks from him, to convey from certain death the remaining combatants, who could no longer defend a place open on all sides. After having represented, that a longer defence would avail, only to destroy brave men, more useful in the defence of other fortresses, Medran concluded

The knights, in fort Saint Helme, desire permission to evacuate it. The grand master refuses them.

by

by assuring Valette of the perfect obedience of all those in fort St. Helme. The grand master communicated chevalier Medran's mission to the council. All the grand crosses were for abandoning this miserable place. Valette alone argued, that if its defence could be prolonged some time longer, it would save the isle of Malta. He added, that it was a long time yet to the season, when, the sea being no longer safe, the Turks would be obliged to conduct back their fleet; that the viceroy of Sicily, who sought a thousand excuses for refusing his succours, would have a very plausible one as soon as the fort should be abandoned, and would say publicly, that, wanting his master's forces to defend his own dominions, he ought not to risk them in the town of an ally, which could no longer be defended; that he, the grand master, lamented from the bottom of his heart the brave men abandoned in fort Saint Helme; but such was the misfortune of war, that it was often necessary to sacrifice some members to save the body. All the council submitted, and Valette wrote to the knights remaining in the fort, that, when they shut themselves up there, they knew that the safety of Malta, and perhaps the Order of Saint John, depended on the time more or less that they might be able to defend that place; that they should remember the vow which they had made to sacrifice their life for the Order; that as many men should be sent them as the smallness

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Troubles
occasioned
by this
refusal.

smallness of the fort could contain. On the reading of this letter, some knights, among others the bailiff of Negropont and commander Broglio, made courageously the sacrifice of their life, by repeating aloud one after another the words of their vow; but the greatest number thought the grand master's answer exceedingly hard. They said it was strange that people, who did not share the danger, should sacrifice their brethren in cold blood and unnecessarily; that if it were requisite for them to shed their blood for the Order, they should shed it more usefully in the other forts, which they might hope to defend; that then they should prolong the time with much more certainty; but they could not see why people should be condemned to an inevitable death, who, it was true, had vowed to sacrifice themselves for the interest of the Order, but not for the caprice of the commanders.

As the batteries fired with more fury than ever, and it was necessary to defend the breaches constantly, every moment the cannon destroyed soldiers or knights. The murmuring increased: fifty-three knights signed a letter to the grand master, which contained in substance, that, for the last time, they solicited his permission to retire to the Burgh, and to save the precious remains of a garrison which had performed prodigies; that, if he did not send them barks the following night, they would sally out and sell their

their lives as dear as they could, rather than remain to be buried under the ruins, or reserved for those hideous tortures which the ingenious cruelty of the Turks never failed of inventing. Valette was exceedingly hurt on reading this letter. In order to gain time, he sent three commissioners: commander Medina, a Spaniard; commander Castriot, an Italian, descended from the famous Scanderbeg; and chevalier Laroche, a Briton. They were ordered to examine the fort, and to endeavour to prevail on the knights to defend it, at least 'till the arrival of the succours from Sicily. The knights made no reply to the exhortations, prayers, and even flattery of the commissioners, 'till these last had visited the fortress. After they had shewn them that the half moon, in the possession of the Turks, commanded the parapet by the additions which they had made to its height; that the breaches laid open all the body of the place; that there was no more earth to make shouldering-pieces with; and that the platforms on which the batteries were placed were all broken; commander Medina and chevalier Laroche highly praised their gallant defence, and conjured these brave men to hold out some days longer, to give the Sicilian succours time to arrive. The knights attempted to convince them of its impossibility, when commander Castriot cried, that the place was not without resources, and that he would be answerable for

its

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I.C. 1565. its holding out a long time yet. The de-
 Heg. 972. fenders of fort Saint Helme, irritated by this
 discourse, which seemed to tax them with ignorance or cowardice, earnestly asked commander Castriot, if he would stay with them, to teach them how to defend a place open on all sides, without troops or cannon. I would not be responsible for it with you, replied Castriot with still more vehemence, for you despair; but if the grand master will give me docile troops, I will wait here for the Sicilian succours. The dispute grew so warm, that the bailiff of Negropont was obliged to order the alarm to be sounded, in order to draw each person to his post; for the knights, exasperated, wanted to prevent the commissioners from going back. The latter, on their return to the Burgh, declared to Valette, that they did not believe the fort in a situation to stand an assault; but Castriot, full of ardour and resentment, exclaimed, that, if they would give him soldiers who should voluntarily offer themselves, he would engage to defend it for several weeks yet. The grand master eagerly received this proposal; he offered money to all the soldiers who would follow Castriot. As it was not known in the Burgh to what extremity the fort was reduced, Castriot found more volunteers than he wanted. Valette then replied to the letter of the fifty-three knights, that barks should bring them in the beginning of the night
 a de-

a detachment of brave fellows who would be answerable to him for the fort; that as for them, they might return to the monastery in the same barks; that he even ordered them to repair thither, as they would be more in safety, and he, the grand master, would be more at ease, when he should know, that a place of such importance, as fort Saint Helme, was defended by soldiers who were not afraid. On the reading of this letter, the knights threw themselves at the feet of the bailiff of Negropont, to obtain Valette's permission to continue in the place, and that Castriot might not enter there. The bailiff sent a swimmer to inform the grand master of this repentance, which, in fact, he had expected. Valette at first refused what he seemed to grant afterward with difficulty on the testimony of the repentance of fifty-three knights. At length he sent them sixty men only, who voluntarily offered their services, commanded by this same chevalier John Lacerda who in the commencement had behaved shily, and who, from the bottom of his prison, daily conjured the grand master to permit him to repair his honor.* The greatest defect in fort Saint Helme was its being able to contain but very few troops, and presenting so small a space to the enemy, that the batteries, striking

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* Chevalier John Lacerda, after having for a long time in the sequel sought death every where, was killed bravely fighting in the breach.
Translator.

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Vigorous
defence.

constantly on the same place, pulverised the walls and killed all those that appeared openly; but circumstances had so increased the courage of the besieged, that their efforts penetrated with admiration all their comrades, who, from the neighbouring posts, saw the strongest resistance made without being able to give them any other assistance, than the batteries which fired continually from the castle of Saint Angelo, from the isle of Lafangle, and from the Burgh, on the camp in front of the besieged place. Necessity rendered those industrious who, a few days before, were full of despair. They had in the fort a great number of casks which had contained ammunition: they conceived the design of daubing over the hoops of these casks with boiling oil: they then covered them with wool soaked in brandy mixed with saltpetre and bruised gunpowder. This preparation being dropped along these hoops and dried three times, when the janissaries mounted to the assault, the besieged threw with tongs these circles all inflamed on the troop endeavouring to climb up. One would take two, sometimes three men, set their clothes on fire, and oblige them to throw themselves into the sea, making terrible cries. This invention retarded for several days the taking of the fort. No succours from Sicily were arrived. Dragut, always attentive to an attack which would procure him the entrance of a port, grieved to think that a handful

handful of soldiers should retain a numerous army before a castle which was neither large nor well fortified. As he meditated to cut off the communication between the Burgh and fort Saint Helme, which was kept up by the Grand Port, he caused this port to be blocked up by eighty galleys, which began to cannonade the fort on the sea side, that is to say, on the part where it was impregnable. But Dragut flattered himself that the passage from the Burgh to the fort would be exposed to his artillery. He caused likewise another battery to be erected with his largest cannon on a hill from which all the fortifications of the island could be distinguished. These precautions cut off all communication between the Burgh and the gates of the fort, as the cannon grazed all the port if a single bark did but appear there. From that moment there were no succours to be hoped for by the fort. But Dragut having raised part of his body above the intrenchments in order to give his orders the better, a musquet ball, which struck him in the scull, brought him to the ground in presence of the two armies. They carried him to his tent, where he survived a few days.

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Dragut is
killed.

Meanwhile, the knights at every instant performed prodigies of valour, and their number as rapidly diminished. At length, the 24th of June, after having the trenches open a whole month, the Turks, to whom the siege of this little fort cost

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more than nine thousand men, resolved to take, at any rate, the sixty men that yet remained there. This last assault was likewise defended as well as it could be by a troop too inferior in number, several of whom were already grievously wounded. Some of them, not being able to stand, caused themselves to be carried to the breach in chairs; and seizing with both hands their swords which they were unable to hold with one, they excited the janissaries to kill them, by attacking the janissaries first. In short, there was not one left of all those who had devoted themselves to the defence of this place. Thirteen hundred men perished there, among whom were a hundred and thirty knights and servants at arms. Several, as we have seen, lost their lives for an instant of weakness, which many people would term only prudence.

Fort St.
Helme is
taken.
The fleet
enters the
port.

The Turks, having reached the castle, exercised every cruelty that circumstances permitted them. For having found some knights who had yet some signs of life; in derision of the cross which they bore, they made on their stomachs a crucial incision, nailed them by the four members on planks, and then threw them into the sea, hoping that the flood would carry them to the shore near the Burgh, which was really the case. This sight grieved the grand master to the heart, and enraged him so much, that he instantly ordered, by way of retaliation, all the Mussulman slaves

slaves that were in the island to be beheaded; and, J.C. 1565-
Heg. 973- then charging the cannon with their heads, he sent them thundering to these barbarians. Mustapha hastened to inform Dragut of the taking of the castle of fort Saint Helme, for which he was particularly indebted to the advice which that general had given him, to cut off the communication between the Burgh and the fort. Dragut was at the point of death when he received these news; he testified his joy at it, as he expired, by expressive signs, for he was then speechless. As soon as the Turks had entered the fort, they undid the chain which shut Marsamuffet port, and the whole fleet entered in triumph to the sound of the artillery and all the instruments of music. The bashaw sent a slave to propose an honorable capitulation to the knights; but they answered by menacing to hang the envoy.

Mustapha, master of the port, resolved to attack at the same time the Burgh and the isle of Lafangle: as to the castle of St. Angelo, it being covered by the Burgh on the land side, the Turk had it battered from the peninsula on which fort St. Helme was situated. The taking of this fort, though it had cost so many men, raised the courage of the janissaries and spahis. The latter had soon erected their batteries; and the three posts were battered in breach at the same time. Meanwhile, the knights, more animated than ever, thought only of revenging the death of
their

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their brethren; scarcely flattering themselves any longer with succours from Sicily, they saw no other resource than in their own valour. They agreed neither to give nor receive any more quarter. This sort of war appeared to them less disadvantageous than the prospect of slavery, treachery, and perhaps tortures, to which some of them had been put. They had provisions enough yet left to serve them a long time. Though winter was very distant, the grand master, who had seen a trifling fort withstand for a month entire the whole Ottoman army, hoped, that in the places better fortified, he should gain the season when the Turks would be obliged to give up their enterprise. Whilst he was exhorting his brave brethren to no longer rely on any assistance from abroad, they suddenly saw four Sicilian galleys enter one of the creeks, for the ports which the Turks were not masters of, were blocked up by their fleet. These vessels had on board a Spanish regiment and two hundred knights, arrived in Sicily since the commencement of the siege of Malta. This feeble succour seemed to announce, that they ought not to expect a more considerable one, though the viceroy of Sicily sent word, that his whole fleet would immediately put to sea. The knights received with joy those who came to share with them such perilous situations. And indeed the Turks did not stick to the ordinary manner of attacking places;

places; they would fain take the isle or peninsula of Lafangle by the side next the sea. It was impossible to get there by the Grand Port, because they must have passed under the cannon of the castle of Saint Angelo. Mustapha undertook, as had been practised at the siege of Constantinople, to convey from Marsamuffet port some barks over the neck of land which separated it from the Grand Port, by means of cables, engines, and strength of arms. This enterprize should have apparently been traversed by the batteries of the castle of St. Angelo and the isle of Lafangle, which swept continually the Grand Port; but Mustapha did not value human blood, provided he could succeed in his designs. Luckily, Valette was warned of it in time by a renegade whose stings of conscience had forced him to quit the Ottoman army to go and do penance at Malta. It was necessary to consider how to repulse this attack before it were begun. By favor of the darkness of the night, the grand master employed all his pioneers in forming a kind of palisade, with stakes driven in the water around the isle of Lafangle. Though they could not place them very near one another, an iron chain, passed through a ring fixed to the top of each stake, and yards of vessels, nailed across, rendered this barrier impenetrable by barks. This work, to which the citizens, soldiers, and even knights assisted, was completed in nine nights; it astonished Mustapha,

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J.C. 1565. Mustapha, without making him change his de-
 Heg. 973. sign. Some Turks who could swim, having
 nothing about their body but a girdle, to which
 hung a hatchet, earnestly endeavoured to cut the
 yards, and fix cables to this palisade which they
 proposed to tear up by means of capstans placed
 on the shore. Some Maltese soldiers, swimmers
 likewise, threw themselves into the sea, with their
 swords between their teeth, to oppose these
 Turks. A bloody combat ensued in the water
 between these men who swam with three limbs,
 and, with hatchets or swords, mangled each
 others' naked bodies. The cables placed by the
 Turks were immediately cut. The necessity they
 were in of avoiding the blows of the Maltese
 prevented their doing the same by the yards:
 in consequence, the palisade remained unhurt,
 whilst on the other side of the port they were pre-
 paring barks which the cannon from the Burgh
 damaged before they were equipped with masts
 and ropes.

Meanwhile, Azan, dey of Algiers, son of the
 famous Barbarossa, and son-in-law of Dragut,
 brought a reinforcement of two thousand five
 hundred men to the Turkish army. On seeing
 the castle of Saint Helme, he expressed great
 astonishment that so small a fort should have stood
 a month against a numerous army. He blamed
 Mustapha, with the inconsiderateness of a pre-
 sumptuous youth, for not having yet caused any
 assault

assault to be attempted, though the fortifications were injured, and he boasted that he would presently carry the fort Saint Michael, which was the citadel of the isle of Lafangle, if they would intrust him with that attack. Mustapha, who wished to humble this presumption, and to employ the foreign troops in the most dangerous operations, permitted Azan to undertake the assault, promised to sustain him, and gave him all the barks set afloat in the Grand Port with so much difficulty. The dey of Algiers, resolved to attack by land and sea at the same time, gave the command on the sea side to Cadalisfa his lieutenant, one of Barbarossa's old soldiers, in whom the prince had great confidence. This lieutenant engaged to break the palisade, whilst his master should mount to the breach of the fort. Four thousand men, Algerines or janissaries, were embarked in these barks, which were preceded by one longer than the others, filled with imans and dervisses, some imploring by their singing and prayers the succour of Heaven, whilst the others, reading passages from the Alcoran, cursed the Christian army with distortions and piercing cries. This ridiculous ceremony over, they had recourse to more formidable arms. The Turks advanced in their barks to the palisade, without being able to break it, as they had flattered themselves; neither could they construct a bridge of wood from this palisade to

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Attack of
the isle of
Lafangle.

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the shore, not having planks sufficiently long to reach it. Whilst they were vainly attempting these different operations, the artillery from the castles fired from all sides with so much fury and success, that several barks, sunk, warned the others to keep off. Cadalissa soon rallied them; and perceiving that the palisade did not reach quite to the extremity of the point called the spur of the isle of Lafangle, he directed his course thither, not despairing of landing there. As he was near the shore, two batteries of six cannons each, mounted so low as to graze the sea, fired together and sunk several barks. The Algerine general landed with those he had left, whilst the Maltese recharged. As these foldiers, whom they singled out from the top of the rampart, and who at every instant saw their comrades fall by their sides, began to give ground, Cadalissa had the barks withdrawn in order to force his men to conquer, by taking from them the hope of fleeing. Being arrived at the foot of the curtain, he and his Algerines, who were at the head of the attack, were exposed, almost close to the cannon's mouth, to the fire of four cannons charged with old nails, chains, bullets, and such other instruments of death, which, in an instant, overthrew several ranks. Notwithstanding all these impediments, holding the sword in one hand, they planted their ladders with the other, and mounted with incredible
fury.

fury. The resistance of the knights was not less; but in spite of their valour, seven Turkish standards were presently planted on the top of the curtain. This extremity made the Maltese perform prodigies. Whilst commander Guimeran, to whom this post was intrusted, was exhorting his brethren to suffer death sooner than permit the Turks to enter, they heard all of a sudden a great cry. The Algerines and janissaries turned their faces towards a fresh succour which the grand master had sent. Commander Giou, and the knights Medina, Ruis, and Quincy, had brought two thousand five hundred men from the Burgh. The Turks then finding themselves between two fires, the disorder and confusion obliged them to relinquish their design. Cadalissa always the first, recalled the barks, which neither came soon enough nor in a number sufficiently large to satisfy his impatience. Several Turks, without being able to swim, threw themselves into the sea; others, begging quarter, embraced the knees of the Maltese; but all the knights and soldiers, faithful to the promise which they had made, gave these miserable wretches what they called the peace of Saint Helme, that is, they massacred them at their feet in retaliation of all the besieged's having perished in the defence of that fort. The attack of the dey of Algiers was every whit as unfortunate and bloody. Notwithstanding the blood which these actions cost the Turks,

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The dey of
Algiers &
his lieute-
nant storm
fort Lafan-
gle and are
repulsed.

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Mustapha felt a secret pleasure at seeing the pride of this presumptuous ally humbled, who had accused him of slowness. Moreover, the Order had lost more than forty of its bravest knights and more than three hundred soldiers.

Another occasion soon presented itself for shedding blood. Mustapha undertook to construct a bridge with masts and yards to the foot of the wall of fort Saint Michael, like that which he had caused to be constructed for the attack of fort Saint Helme. The object of this work was, to raise the soldiers from the ground, and consequently to facilitate the assault. As it might become very fatal, the grand master had it attacked by his brother's son, chevalier Valette, and by chevalier Polastron his friend, who would fain share the glory and danger of this expedition. They proposed to tie cables and ropes to the pieces of wood which sustained the bridge; then to have it pulled with violence, in order to shake and destroy the edifice, whilst a party of their detachment should keep the janissaries at bay. This work, which could not be executed but in open day, necessarily proved very bloody. Valette and Polastron were soon killed. As there was a price set on the life of all the knights, the Turks prepared to carry off the bodies of these two friends; but the Christian soldiers would rather be killed themselves on their dead bodies, than return without them. This new combat

was.

was more bloody than the first; at length, after a most furious engagement of half an hour, the Christians brought back to the grand master the bodies of his nephew and his friend, without having been able to injure the bridge which had been the object of their folly. Valette, though greatly moved at this spectacle, meditated rather to revenge than to bewail their death. Having been himself to take a view of the bridge, he ordered a small opening to be made in the wall of the fort, directly opposite and on a level with it. A single cannon, placed at this opening, presently beat down all the work; and, without loss of time, they set it on fire. In fine, nothing could be compared to the efforts of both parties for five successive months. Every thing that art can invent in war; every thing that resolution, fury, and even rashness, execute often without having been thought possible, was made use of in this siege. Hope and courage increased by degrees. At first, only those Maltese, who had enrolled themselves under the standard of the Order for the sake of pay, engaged in the conflict; but afterward, all the young men in a situation to carry arms, would fain share the dangers which inspired them with admiration. The married men contributed likewise to the defence of their homes, and disputed the honor of replacing those who had died for the glory of the Order and the preservation of their country. At last, the old men

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men and even the women, led on by the example of those who were most dear to them, and alarmed for their own danger, came on the ramparts to throw down stones and boiling oil; sometimes they would roll on the assailants large pieces of rocks which they would have been unable to move in any other circumstance. Paternal and filial love, pudicity, the hatred of Mahometanism, and the fear of slavery or infamy, furnished this timid troop with arms, and taught them to contemn death. The Turks did not shew less bravery or less industry. Mustapha, Piali, and the dey of Algiers, had divided between them the command of the three attacks on fort Saint Michael and the Burgh. The emulation and shame of not being able to reduce a handful of soldiers made them perform prodigies. Every day they invented new machines and caused them to be made use of. Sometimes they threw barrels on the ramparts, which scattered a shower of old nails, chains, and broken pottsherds; at other times, by means of rollers and capstans, they conveyed to the feet of the breaches wooden towers, the tops of which, commanding the fortifications, were covered with arquebusiers and janissaries who threw grenades on the ramparts. The besieged often found means to turn these infernal machines against their inventors. Their cannon, charged with iron chains, being directed against the wooden towers, the chains took

took them in the middle, and overturned these fatal edifices, which destroyed in their fall all those that had had the courage to mount on them. The barrels, which, in bursting, were to spread death on the ramparts where they had been thrown, were sent back on the assailants before they had produced their effect. The ladders were broken in pieces under the janissaries; and the limbs of these miserable wretches, scattered here and there, formed a spectacle as hideous as terrible. Mustapha not only lost a great number of men around these forts, but he had before him the prospect of soon being unable to nourish the troops that he had left. He believed Malta defended by a much greater number of soldiers than it was in reality, because the ramparts were always manned, and, notwithstanding the blood shed every day, the combatants seemed to spring up from their ashes. The commissaries of the stores gave notice, that a vessel, loaded with wheat, from the isle of Gerbes, was taken by the Sicilian galleys, and that there was at the most in the camp flour enough for twenty-five days only. The artillery gave notice at the same time that they were on the brink of wanting ammunition. At these news, Mustapha and Piali, convinced that they should be soon obliged to raise the siege, trembled lest the sultan should attribute this bad success to them alone and demand of them an account of the half of his army lost before places which

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J.C. 1565. which contained but a very small number of soldiers. And indeed Solyman, accustomed to **Mag. 973.** vanquish, and who ardently desired to destroy what he called a haunt of pirates, could not but impatiently learn, that forty thousand janissaries or spahis, reduced to sixteen thousand, had quitted this rock where so much blood had been spilt, without leaving any other proofs of valour behind them than the losses which they had sustained

After several furious attacks, the Turks abandon the siege of the three forts so lay siege to the City-notable.

there. In order to present at least some trophies to their master, they resolved to abandon these forts, which, though open on all sides, appeared to them impregnable, and to turn their remaining forces against the City-notable, the capital of the island, but the post the worst fortified and the least important of all, as it was six miles from the sea. Mustapha and Piali hoped to carry this town presently, and boast to their redoubtable sovereign of having taken the capital of the island.

Masquita, a Portuguese knight, commanded in the City-notable. During the siege of the other forts, he had employed his garrison in continually attacking the Turks in the rear whilst they were mounting to the assault. He did not shew less valour when his post was besieged. As we have already remarked, all the inhabitants were become soldiers. The Turks, who saw all these ramparts lined with men, were unable to recover from their astonishment, at meeting throughout such numerous garrisons. The knights perceived that

that the Turks gave ground, by their abandoning the attack of the maritime forts to besiege a place that could be of no use to them, and which they would never be able to retain. The Maltese redoubled their efforts and courage. As the besiegers found a little more earth around the City—notable than they had near the sea, they undertook to dig mines, which were presently countermined; but in the midst of these works, equally perilous and bloody with those around the Burgh and the castles of Saint Helme, Saint Michael, and Saint Angelo, an unexpected event determined the chiefs to abandon the whole.

The Sicilian fleet, which was no longer looked for, on account of its having been too long expected, suddenly appeared in sight of the island. The knights, after having seen it very near, again thought once more that they should be deprived of its assistance. The viceroy of Sicily, whom the clamours of two hundred knights arrived at Messina from all parts of Christendom, and still more the orders of Philip II. had at length forced to put to sea, seemed nevertheless to seek a pretext for depriving the Maltese of the succour which he ought not to refuse them. All the ports of the island were still blocked up by the Ottoman fleet. Don Garcia (that was the name of the viceroy) pretended to have an express order from Philip II. not to engage; he coasted along

The Sicilian fleet appears off the island.

J.C. 1565. the island to seek, as he said, a bay in which he
 Heg. 973. could land. Several shallops were dispatched to
 him, to point out the most favorable ones; but
 he always feigned to doubt; when at last, a tem-
 pest having separated all his galleys, he was
 obliged to stand towards cape Passaro in Sicily,
 where the whole reunited. It was then thought
 that Malta could never expect succours, and that,
 if it were to be saved, it could only be by the
 valour of its knights, and by the scarcity of pro-
 visions experienced by the Turks. The viceroy's
 bad intentions were evident. He held a council,
 hoping that all those who were under him would
 read in his eyes that he wished to return to Mes-
 sina, and that they would make the tempest and
 the little safety in the bays of the isle of Malta a
 pretext to support this opinion. But the two
 hundred knights who were on board the galleys,
 and all the subalterns and soldiers who composed
 these succours, exclaimed with so much heat that
 it could not be the interest of Philip II. to betray
 the Order of St. John, so useful to Sicily and all
 Christendom; that the rock of Malta was a most
 impenetrable bulwark for all the coasts of Italy;
 in short, the commotion was so general, that the
 viceroy, who perceived, by the liberty with which
 they spoke to him, that he was on the point of
 losing his authority, consented to put to sea; and
 stretching immediately towards this island which
 for four months he had refused to succour, he
 entered,

After a
 great deal
 of irreso-
 lution, the
 viceroy of
 Sicily
 lands seven
 thousand
 men to
 their assis-
 tance.

entered, on the 17th of September, the bay or creek of Melecha, one of those which had been pointed out to him, without the Turks' taking any steps to hinder him. Seven thousand regular troops landed with a great deal of ammunition and provisions, even with arms for the peasants and citizens, if they were in want of them. This was all the succour; because, during the irresolution, or rather slowness, affected by the viceroy, two thousand men had deserted. Don Garcia debarked to review his troops; when, after having commanded them to march towards the City—notable under their particular chiefs, who were all to obey the grand master, he re-embarked, and set sail for Sicily, according to the express orders which he pretended to have received from Philip II.

The Sicilian army encamped near the place where they had landed, in order to give the grand master time to prepare quarters for them. The Turkish generals, who had always thought the Sicilian fleet would engage theirs, and who, on that account, had disposed their galleys in such manner as to exactly block up the two ports, learned with the greatest surprise that the Sicilians had debarked all their forces on the opposite side. Terror and confusion soon took possession of their souls. Without knowing what this succour might be, they hastened the re-embarkation of all their troops; they abandoned

J.C. 1565.
Heg. 973.

The Turks
take to
flight.

bandoned even their heavy artillery, preparing to flee rather than retire. But Mustapha was hardly at sea, when he was informed by a fugitive slave from the Burgh, that this army, from which sixteen thousand men fled with so much precipitation, was composed at most but of seven thousand men, who did not agree together; that it was not yet entered into the forts; that this quantity of soldiers which he had perceived on the ramparts of the City-notable, was but a crowd of citizens without discipline, and almost without arms; that at the time when he raised the siege, the knights themselves were reduced to extremity, and wanted ammunition in all the forts. Mustapha was beginning to repent of a retreat so unbecoming and badly determined, when he perceived the colours of the Order of St. John floating on the parapets of fort St. Helme, into which the knights were re-entered in triumph: he heard the acclamations of joy and the noise of the workmen, who were filling up the trenches and destroying his works. The whole night was passed by the Turks in the greatest perplexity, and in the greatest joy by the Christians. The Turkish general assembled the council at break of day on board his galley. Dreading the reception which attended him at Constantinople, he proposed to the chiefs to debark again, and try once more the fortune of war against troops whose weakness he had never known

They return to
Malta, and
debark a
second
time.

known so well as since he had given way to them. J.C. 1565.
Heg. 973.
 The dey of Algiers strongly supported this advice; and though Piali opposed it, as likewise several other chiefs, the disembarking was determined on, and executed in the creek of Saint Paul; for the Turks being no longer masters of fort Saint Helme, were unable to re-enter Marsamuffet port.

The Ottoman troops were discouraged. These janissaries and spahis so intrepid could not be prevailed on to land but by force of stripes. They believed Malta absolutely impregnable, and saw with the greatest concern, that, after having abandoned posts which had cost them so much blood, they must yet shed more to recover them. The grand master, who saw all from the top of the platforms, sent to inform the Sicilian army, that the Turks were debarking. The commanders of the different corps held a council among themselves; some were for waiting for the enemy, superior in number, in the advantageous post which they occupied; others, more generous, exclaimed, that being come for the sole purpose of succouring Malta, they ought to march to the enemy, in order to hinder them from entering on a new siege. Almost all the commanders and knights had brought volunteers and soldiers with them; and as they formed together the most formidable battalion of this little army, they declared, that, if the Sicilians refused to follow them, they
 would

J.C. 1565.
Heg. 973.

The Sici-
lian army
beats and
pursues
them to
their ves-
sels.

would endeavour by themselves to cut their way through the enemy, in order to enter the place which should be besieged. The ardour of the bravest animated all the others. These troops, though divided at first, marched in concert, and briskly attacked the Turks, whom the hatred of the chiefs and the discouragement rendered immoveable, and who would rather suffer themselves to be beaten by their officers, than attack the enemy with their swords. At length the defeat was complete: the Turks, after their first discharge made at random, fled towards the shore in such numbers, that their general was constrained to follow them. In a very short time the Sicilians made a horrible slaughter; they pursued them home to their galleys, entering into the water in arms to attack those who were confusedly crowding to embark.

Solyman, at the news of the raising of the siege and at the loss of more than two thirds of his army, threw with indignation on the ground the letter which informed him of all these disasters, exclaiming, that the Ottoman arms were never fortunate but when he commanded them himself. In his rage he would undoubtedly have had Mustapha and Piali put to death; but having had time to cool before their arrival, he thought it more prudent to feign. It was given out by his order at Constantinople, that the Ottoman army had so ruined the isle of Malta that

that it was quite uninhabitable, and that the generals would not leave a garrison on this uncultivated and desolated rock, where the soldiers would only have been exposed to the inclemency of the air and the horrors of famine. Thus the sultan's policy saved those chiefs whom his offended pride seemed to condemn. It was true that the Turks had left the isle of Malta in a most miserable state, and had killed a great many people. But these brave knights, surrounded by the ruins of their bastions and the dead bodies of their brethren, tasted the pleasing satisfaction of seeing their enemies flee full sail, and enjoyed a victory glorious in proportion to the expence of its accomplishment.

Solyman's policy would likewise have his fleet enter the port of Constantinople in triumph, to the sound of clarions and trumpets, the firing of the batteries of the fort, and of the small arms of all the troops in the city. But not one trophy announced the pretended victory: the barbarity of the Turks had not permitted them to reserve a single slave. Some heads of the principal knights, carefully preserved and exposed on the ends of pikes, announced rather the cruelty than the valour of the Mussulmen. The people did not swallow the illusion held out to them; notwithstanding the boasts of victory, the small number of janissaries, which landed from the vessels, covered with wounds or weighed down with fatigue, deplorable

J.C. 1565.
Heg. 973.

The fleet enters the port of Constantinople in triumph, as if it had vanquished.

J.C. 1565. ble remains of a numerous and well appointed
 Heg. 973. army, the certainty of Malta's not being reduced,
 the care even which the sultàn took to conceal
 himself from the public, sufficiently declared
 what they ought to think of all these advantages
 so falsely and pompously recited to them.

Severity of
 Solyman.

The severity of Solyman was a new proof of
 his losses. Since this prince had been free from
 the government of women, the musti had gotten
 possession of his confidence. He was unceasingly
 repeating to him, that the crimes of the people
 which he had suffered too long were the sole cause
 of the ill success of his arms. In consequence,
 the sultan ordered a thundering edict to be pub-
 lished against the drinkers of wine, and still more
 terrible against those who should dare sell it; an-
 other against those who should neglect to attend
 public prayers; and a third against blasphemers.
 He ordered that every omission should be punish-
 ed by a fine; and all impiety, in the number of
 which the use of wine was the greatest, first by a
 severe bastinado, and lastly by death. His zeal,
 or rather natural inclination, inspired him like-
 wise with a desire to persecute the Christians.
 Some Mussulmen believe that they not only
 ought to employ every mean to propagate Islam-
 ism, but even that they are not obliged to keep
 their word with Infidels. It is thus they term all
 those who are not Mussulmen; and this dogma,
 though reprobated by all who have an upright
 mind

mind and a just heart, has been greedily received by some princes who sought a pretext to satisfy their avidity. One of the isles of the Archipelago, called Scio or Chio, inhabited by Latin and Greek Christians, and governed by an aristocracy under the protection of the grand Seignior, to whom it was tributary, felt the effects of his rage. This island, as fertile as Malta was barren, was inhabited only by husbandmen and traders. Instead of citadels they had manufactures; the inhabitants used iron only in the cultivation of their fields and the manufacture of their silks; and they knew no other way of defending themselves against the Mussulmen, than by giving them part of those riches which were the fruits of their industry. A great many Genoese families were settled in the isle of Scio. Solyman seized on all those that had any part in the government, and banished them to divers places in his dominions. He delivered the people to the rapine of a bashaw, whom he established in the island contrary to the faith of treaties. Daramont, the French ambassador who had protected the knights of Malta at the siege of Tripoli, regarding all the Christian inhabitants of these barbarous climates as countrymen, complained loudly of this injustice to the grand vizier Muffapha. France, as we have already said, is the almost necessary ally of Turkey. Daramont's complaints were attended to; the exiles were

J.C. 1565.
Heg. 973.

The French
ambassador
protects the
inhabitants
of Scio.

J.C. 1566.
Heg. 973,
& 974. re-established in their country; and if the state of this island did not become as free as it had been, its inhabitants were at least eased of one part of the load which oppressed them.

Solyman goes to war with the emperor Maximilian for the interest of Stephen Zapoli. Bad success of this war.

The sultan indeed had reasons for keeping on good terms with France; for his uneasiness and chagrin at not having succeeded at Malta, soon incited him to attack the house of Austria. The occasion was natural. Stephen Zapoli, prince of Transylvania, whom Solyman had formerly protected, implored his assistance against Maximilian, king of Hungary, become emperor of the West after the death of Ferdinand his father. This prince refused to give his sister in marriage to Zapoli, though the treaty concluded with Ferdinand expressly said, that the prince of Transylvania should marry the Austrian princess, as soon as she should be marriageable. The sultan sent forces to the bashaw of Buda, with orders to ravage Hungary, which he thought badly defended. This officer took indeed some castles; but count Serin, who commanded for Maximilian in lower Hungary, obliged the Turks to raise the siege of Sigeth after great loss. Count Salm, another Austrian commander, took the town of Vesperin by surprise, the garrison of which the bashaw had imprudently weakened. Several other places belonging to the Turks followed this example. These misfortunes determined Solyman to put himself once more at the head of

of his janissaries, though he was seventy-six years of age and loaded with infirmities, which his licentious life had brought on him. Neither his courage nor ambition was abated: he ordered the beglerbeg of Asia to send troops to Europe, and appointed the plains of Adrianople for the rendezvous of his army. The musti published a fetfa, which granted those who should march to this war the absolution of all their sins. Numbers eagerly gave in their names; and besides the janissaries, bostangis, and spahis, who, to the number of fifty thousand, were to form the principal force of this army, more than a hundred thousand timarians or asaps followed Solyman. The emperor wanted to bring his son Selim to this war; but that prince, accustomed to the indolence and pleasures of his haram, feared fatigue. He refused to follow his father; and not having taken care to dissemble the reasons of his refusal, Solyman thought them so disgraceful that he would not believe them. This prince, too much accustomed to mistrust his children, believed or feigned to believe that Selim was tired of seeing his father live so long. Solyman would rather suspect his son of rebellion than cowardice: he deferred for some time his departure for Hungary, carefully watching the actions of a prince not worth the pains taken about him. At length when the profound indolence, the incapacity even of Selim, had removed his father's

J.C. 1566.
Heg. 973,
& 974.

J.C. 1566,
Heg. 973,
& 974-

Solyman
takes the
field him-
self at the
head of a
numerous
army.

fears, he left Constantinople at the head of the janissaries and bostangis of his guard, to join at Adrianople the Asiatic troops which were gone thither.

Solyman affected great magnificence in this armament. His departure from Constantinople was more like a triumph than the march of an army. Gold sparkled on the arms of all the officers; the beauty of the horses, the richness of their trappings, and the splendor which raised to envy all those that wished to please the emperor, seemed to elevate the courage of the Turks whilst it humbled their enemies. Amidst all this pomp, the sultan appeared so pale and lean, that the people presaged they should never see him again in the capital of his empire. The grand seignior joined the Asiatic troops at Adrianople, where they were just arrived; he marched at their head towards Buda, where he was to meet those of Europe. The prince of Transylvania, the cause or rather pretext of the war, came to Buda at the head of a thousand chosen horse, to pay homage to his protector and carry him rich presents. The emperor of the Turks received Stephen Zapoli on his throne, with the haughtiness of a Mahometan monarch, who would not lose the opportunity of humbling a Christian prince obliged to implore his succour. Solyman not having the same reasons for concealing the faults of the bashaw of Buda, as
he

he had fancied he had for not punishing the generals who had raised the siege of Malta, the unfortunate bashaw was strangled almost under the eyes of his master. Immediately after this cruel proceeding, the emperor marched towards Belgrade; and as he learned there that his adversary was obliged to assemble the diet of the western empire to obtain succours, he resolved to besiege Sigeth, hoping to carry that place before Maximilian could assemble forces sufficient to defend it.

J.C. 1566.
Heg. 973,
& 974.

Sigeth, situated between two rivers, was divided into an upper and lower town, defended by good fortifications and a citadel said to be very strong. There were but three thousand regular troops in the castle and two towns. With this weak garrison count Serin, who had thrown himself into Sigeth, resolved to stop the whole Ottoman army a sufficient time to put it in his master's power to defend Hungary. He spoke to his troops with great energy, describing to them the horror of falling into the hands of these barbarians, who respected neither the laws of war nor of humanity: he gave them hopes that the succours of Maximilian would soon relieve the place; and having exacted from every soldier an oath that he would sooner die than surrender, he had a gallows erected in the public square to punish those who should dare perjure themselves. The town was well stored with ammunition and

Siege of
Sigeth.

J.C. 1566,
Heg. 974

and provisions; it could not be approached by land but by one narrow side defended by several works: the two rivers formed a peninsula of it. The spahis and janissaries attempted to throw over bridges for a long time without success.

Solyman, who had no idea of sparing human blood, and who was exasperated that three thousand Christians should stop a hundred and fifty thousand Ottomans, was continually undertaking new works, which were as soon demolished by the batteries from the place, and which destroyed thousands of men, either by the water or the fire. At length constancy and number prevailed. After a great deal of blood spilt, the janissaries reached the curtains of the lower town, the breaches of which, being become practicable, made them soon fear an assault. Count Serin, despairing of defending that quarter, would not lose soldiers there who could be more useful to him elsewhere. He ordered a bridge to be broken down which formed the communication between the two towns, and took the precaution of setting fire to the place which he abandoned. The love of booty caused a number of Turks to perish in the fire, which they endeavoured to extinguish. As the garrison was intrenched behind large, deep ditches, Solyman would fain convey the water from it; this enterprise cost him still dearer than the first. Count Serin's soldiers became more terrible as the attacks drew nearer,

nearer. After two months of the most determined resistance, this brave chief had no more than six hundred men left, when he thought it requisite to retire to the citadel in order to withstand the enemy with greater effect, having less ramparts to defend. Humanity would not permit him to set the new town on fire, as he had done to the other quarter; he would not have had room enough in the citadel to receive the few inhabitants who had exposed themselves with him to the hazards of the siege. We shall abridge the particulars of this, lest the too frequent recitals of those military expeditions should fatigue by the repetition of circumstances which must often resemble one another. It suffices to say, that the brave count Serin, determined to sacrifice his life for his country, thought only of delaying that immolation in order to render it more serviceable. He made use of every thing that constancy and talents can do in war, with intention to give Maximilian time to assemble his army. Rare as such examples are in history, they are less astonishing in commanders than soldiers. The same spirit animated all the defenders of Sigeth; the certainty of not being succoured made no impression on their courage. Without aspiring at the glory of being mentioned in future ages, when they saw themselves reduced to the number of two hundred and fifty, they renewed their promise of dying all together; and,

in

J.C. 1566.
Heg. 974.

Vigorous
defence of
count Se-
rin.

J.C. 1566.
Meg. 974.

in order to disguise this terrible resolution under an appearance of joy, they drank large cups of wine in sight of the besiegers, as much with intention to defy them, as to strengthen their union by this sort of libation: they said to one another, embracing, that it was better to die free and like brave men, than to live slaves to these barbarians. Whilst they were exhorting each other to think no more of life but with intention to sell it dearly, count Serin received a note from Solyman, which a soldier had found fastened to an arrow. The grand seignior, who without doubt was ignorant of the number to which the besieged were reduced, offered the count the principality of Croatia to prevail on him to surrender. "My friends," cried Serin, after having read aloud the contents of this letter, "I had no more paper left to ram down the charge of my pistol with, this scrap comes very seasonably." The sultran had assaults made under his own eyes every day, and as often were his janissaries repulsed. The resistance of the besieged enraged him to such a degree, that having seen his janissaries thrown down headlong from the top of a steep breach a hundred different times, crushed under pieces of rock, burnt with boiling oil and other preparations which the besieged were continually throwing down, he returned to his tent full of despair, where an apoplectic fit carried him off in a few moments.

Death of
Solyman.

His

His vizier, Mehemet, thinking it necessary to
 conceal this event, caused a Jewish physician and
 some slaves who had seen the sultan expire, to be
 strangled. He published in the camp that Soly-
 man was indisposed, and took care to have the
 emperor's dinner carried every day, according to
 custom, with pomp and to the sound of instru-
 ments, to the tent where he concealed the dead
 body from all eyes, whilst a chiau was dispatched
 to Iconia to Selim for him to come and take pos-
 session of the throne.

Mehemet, notwithstanding, pressed the opera-
 tions of the siege in the name of Solyman, whose re-
 proaches the janissaries dreaded. In spite of every
 effort, the castle held out four days more. The
 resistance of the besieged would have been longer,
 if a magazine had not taken fire, with such vio-
 lence, that the two hundred men who remained
 in the garrison were insufficient to defend the
 place and extinguish the flames. In this extre-
 mity, count Serin again exhorted his men to ren-
 der their end memorable; he dressed himself in
 his richest clothes, and took with him some pieces
 of gold, to pay, as he said, the person that should
 give him interment. All the Hungarian soldiers
 renewed their promise of not asking any quarter
 nor giving it. As the fire began to approach
 them, the count ordered the gates to be opened:
 when he and his men precipitated themselves into
 the midst of the janissaries who had run to see

J.C. 1566.
Heg. 974.

this fire. The despair of the Hungarians served them so well, that they had difficulty to find that death which they carried every where. At length the janissaries, recovered from their astonishment, seeing that these furious men answered only by blows those who called on them to surrender, received them in close battalion on the points of their pikes. All perished, as they had resolved, except two soldiers, who, having been left for dead on the place, were some hours after brought to life, which they ended in slavery. The janissaries, who believed their emperor sick in his tent, were no way surprised at not seeing him enter the castle at their head. The grand vizier, Mehemet, instead of continuing the expedition, ordered the troops to return towards Belgrade in the name of Solyman, whose litter was carried at the head of the army.

Character
of Soly-
man.

This prince died the 30th of August 1566, aged 76 years. The Turks consider his reign, which was forty-six years, as one of the most glorious in the Ottoman dynasty. Solyman, though very warlike, was as weak as sanguinary, particularly given to women, and governed by all that knew how to flatter him. He had his children put to death on the most vague suspicions and through a sentiment of base jealousy. There were, notwithstanding, in the bottom of his heart, the seeds of virtues which would have shewn themselves, if he had commanded others than slaves.

flaves. He was a lover of glory, order, and even justice, of which he had not a sufficient knowledge. To become a great monarch he wanted men to teach him to be so, and a people that knew when to applaud and when to blame. Solyman was a proof, that the vices of princes proceed oftener from what furrounds them, than from their own natural inclinations.

J.C. 1566.
Heg. 974.

S E L I M II.

ELEVENTH REIGN.

SELIM, the son of Solyman, hastened to Constantinople immediately on the news of his father's death. The caimacan, Sender bashaw, who then commanded in the capital of the empire, was the only one in the secret of this great event. He sent the bostangi pachi with the imperial galleon for the prince at some distance; and when the new emperor arrived in sight of the seraglio, they published at the same time the death of Solyman and the accession of Selim to the throne. The people remarked that the new emperor drank, when he landed, two large glasses of wine, without taking any pains to conceal it. This action, which, a hundred and sixty years before, had cost Solyman, the son of Bajazet I., by

Selim goes to Constantinople to gird on the sword of Othman.

J.C. 1566. some called Solyman I., his life, was received
 Heg. 974. with transport by almost all the Mussulmen, who
 were discontented with the severity of the last
 reign. Selim, surrounded by the bashaws, who
 were at time in a very small number at Constantinople, entered the divan chamber, and ascended the throne of his ancestors. As there was not a single janissary in his capital, he seized that moment to have himself proclaimed, because it was the custom of that soldiery, formidable even to its masters, to exact, at each accession, very considerable presents, which they durst not refuse them. Selim, after having held the divan, went in pomp to the principal mosque; he sacrificed several heifers and sheep there, which were afterward distributed to the poor, and the musti girded the sword of Othman on him, pronouncing these words: "God grant thee the goodness of thy forefather Othman."


He goes to
 Belgrade
 to meet
 his father's
 corpse.

These ceremonies being over, the new emperor departed in haste at the head of some bos-tangis, who composed all his guard, to meet the army and the body of his father. On his arrival at Belgrade, he received letters from the grand vizier, who advised his master to wait for the army in that town, as there was no appearance of the least commotion, and the soldiers, and even the generals, marched in the train of Solyman's litter, always believing their master alive. Two days after, the new sultan learned that the army
 . was

was at the gates, and preparing to enter Belgrade in triumph. Selim, covered with a small mourning turban and a black caftan, advanced, at the head of fome bashaws, dressed in the same manner, to meet the litter of his father, which he perceived at a distance covered with a cloth of gold. The colours, standards, and trophies of arms, taken from the enemy, were around. Trumpets and other musical instruments sounded flourishes. As soon as the prince appeared in sight, Mehemet ordered the army to halt; and having himself opened the litter, he shewed the troops the dead body of Solyman, and at the same time his successor, who was advancing to solemnize his obsequies. This surprise caused at first a profound silence; but presently the janissaries, spahis, and all the men of courage, who loved Solyman's glory much more than his person, made woful lamentations; and, after having shewn marks of grief, which are always very expressive among the Orientals, wished a long life to Selim, who, they were told, was already proclaimed emperor. Selim ordered Solyman's funeral with all the pomp then in usage in the eastern empire. The janissaries and spahis of the guard carried the corpse to Constantinople, where it was received by the whole ulema, or body of imans. It was remarked that all that were at this funeral solemnity wept, or feigned to weep; imans, officers of the seraglio, spahis,

J.C. 1566.
Heg. 974.

Funeral of
Solyman I.

J.C. 1566.
Heg. 974.  spahis, or janissaries, all without distinction heaved deep sighs; even the horses' eyes watered, as a certain powder had been blown up their nostrils in order to produce that effect. Solyman was buried in the mosque which he had founded. All the members of the ulema were ordered to recite the whole Alcoran in honor and for the repose of the emperor's soul, and they received in consequence a recompense proportionable to their dignity. A tubé or marble monument was raised over the grave. This tomb is still held in veneration by the Turks; they go to it and invoke Solyman, as a religious emperor and the friend of justice, who died a martyr by the arms of the Christians.

The funeral rites of the last emperor being over, Selim would fain shew himself to his people with all the pomp of his predecessors. The janissaries and spahis of his guard were badly appointed. The siege of Sigeth had injured their clothes; and their battalion in consequence did not appear with its usual splendor. As the emperor had ordered, for a day not very distant, a magnificent cavalcade, he wanted to have some companies of bostangis, and levantis or marines, take at this ceremony the place of those who were generally employed in guarding his person. The janissaries, already very discontented at being deprived of the present which they said belonged to them at the accession of each

each monarch, permitted Selim to go out of the seraglio with the escort that he had chosen, and having immediately blocked up the palace, they declared that the emperor should not re-enter 'till he had paid them his debt. Neither Selim nor his vizier Mehemet had resolution enough to attempt the reduction of these mutineers: a double month's pay was immediately given them; and their aga received a solemn promise, that the honor of guarding the emperor's person should not be taken from their corps, nor one of them be punished for the insurrection. Though such a beginning ought to have convinced the feeble Selim, that, in order to have nothing to fear from his troops, he should employ them against foreign powers, he resolved to conclude a peace with the emperor of the West. This prince, whose hereditary dominions were desolated, had more reason to desire it than the Turks; he had even sent a resident to the Porte, called Albert De Vus, to propose conditions; but the treaty was soon interrupted by a very great insult which the Austrian minister received in the streets of Constantinople, and for which he could never have justice. De Vus, riding, met the musti marching with a great train: they called out to the German resident to alight before the chief of Mahomet's law. De Vus, ignorant of their customs, and trusting too much to his public character, refused to pay this sort of homage

J.C. 1566.
Heg. 974.

Insurrection of the janissaries, who forced Selim to give them the present customary at the accession of the emperors.

Insult offered the Austrian resident, notwithstanding which another resident concludes a truce.

to

J.C. 1566.
Heg. 974.

to a man, who did not appear so respectable in his eyes, as in those of the Mussulmen; immediately the janissaries who accompanied the musti, and all those who met him on his way, fell on the retinue of the Austrian minister, unhorsed the resident himself, and beat him severely. De Vus complained in vain of this violation of the law of nations. After much delay, the ministers of the divan replied to him, that they could not punish, for an insult offered to a Christian, these same janissaries who had just been recompensed for having resisted their master. The resident, not being able to have his revenge, died soon after of grief and rage. The emperor of the West, though the first Christian monarch in dignity, was far from being so in power. He chose rather to seem ignorant of this insult, than to undertake to revenge it without success. Hungary was desolated, and its sovereign had not wherewithal to pay the troops which the Germanic corps had with difficulty granted him in quality of emperor. He concluded a peace with the prince of Transylvania, after which he sent the bishop of Adria to Constantinople, with rich presents. This prelate had the address to conclude for eight years a truce which his master could not do without. The delays which the Ottoman haughtiness always throws in the way of transactions with Christians, did not astonish this able negociator. After a year's delay, during

during which the Hungarians and Tartars com-
 bated without the two monarchs' seeming to have
 any thing to do with it, it was agreed that each
 should keep what he held at the time of the
 treaty; that the prince of Transylvania should
 remain the ally of both powers; and that the
 peasants of the frontiers, who heretofore paid tri-
 bute to the sultan and the king of Hungary,
 should, for the future, pay it to the sultan only.

J.C. 1567J
 Heg. 974.
 & 975.

The news of an insurrection in Arabia had
 induced the grand vizier Mehemet to conclude
 this treaty. It had just been learned that a chief
 of one of these hordes of vagabonds which con-
 tinually over-run the three Arabias, had chosen
 the time of a change of sovereign to withdraw all
 that country from the Ottoman power, and to
 seize on Mecca. This event, which was passing
 far from Constantinople, appeared to Selim only
 a good occasion to get rid of his janissaries, who
 were to be employed against the rebels. A con-
 jurer had predicted to him that his life would be
 of short duration; on which account he had re-
 solved never to expose it to the chance of battle,
 and constantly to avoid every thing that could
 excite commotions. This Arabian war was ter-
 minated sooner than the emperor wished. A
 bashaw of the bench, called Osdemir, celebrated
 for surpassing all others of his time in bodily
 strength, had the command of the Ottoman
 troops. In less than a campaign he dispersed the
 VOL. II, S rebels,

Troubles
 suppressed
 in Arabia.

J.C. 1568. rebels, re-took Mecca, and re-established the
 Heg. 975, sangaics driven from the Yemen: he caused the
 & 976. name of his master to be respected, whilst that
 prince was debasing himself by the debauchery of
 wine and the pleasures of his haram.

The Turks
 meditate
 the con-
 quest of
 the isle of
 Cyprus.

The janissaries being returned to Constan-
 tinople, the vizier Mehemet, who dreaded com-
 motions more than his master, meditated to
 employ them elsewhere. Several bashaws of the
 bench proposed the conquest of the isle of Cyprus,
 so happy and fertile, that the Pagans, whose re-
 ligion was almost wholly allegorical, made it the
 residence of Venus. This fortunate island had be-
 longed to the Venetians ever since a Venetian lady
 of the family of Cornaro, the widow of a king of
 Cyprus, having succeeded her infant son, had given
 up to her country this rich succession which she could
 not defend. The grand vizier Mehemet thought
 this enterprise too great, considering the number
 of fortified towns in that island. But the other
 bashaws of the bench, who shared the authority,
 persuaded the feeble monarch, that the more the
 arms of his formidable soldiers should be employed
 at a distance from the capital, the more the so-
 vereign would enjoy the sweets of repose, and
 that he would have at once the happiness of ex-
 tending his conquests and of resigning himself to
 his pleasures. Selim, attacked on the weak side,
 adopted the advice of the majority against the
 sentiments of his vizier. He resolved to break
 the

the alliance that was between the republic of Venice and the Porte. The Turks consider as a point of religion, not only to undertake none but just wars, but to cover them with a pretext, and to precede the acts of hostility by a solemn declaration.

J.C. 1568.
Heg. 975,
& 976.

The Venetians kept an ambassador at Constantinople. They had caused the sultan to be complimented on his accession to the throne, and had renewed the alliance between the Porte and the republic. All the articles were scrupulously observed by the Venetians. The divan sent likewise an ambassador to the senate, with orders to complain, though no one could tell of what. This minister said, that some freebooters, whose abode was towards the gulf which separates Italy from Istria, made ravages along the gulf of Venice; and that it was incumbent on the republic to defend the sultan's subjects from these incursions which hurt their commerce. The Turks complained likewise, that the duke of Ferrara, the ally of the Venetians, had kept some troops in Maximilian's army during the Hungarian war. The republic could easily discern the desire which the Turks had to break the treaty, by the subjects of complaint. The Venetian ambassador at the Porte acquainted them, that they began to talk publicly of the conquest of the isle of Cyprus. If Selim had desired only to find work for his janissaries, he might have found more plausible

They seek
pretexts to
declare war
against the
Venetians.

J.C. 1568.
Heg. 975,
& 976.

reasons for attacking Philip II. king of Spain, than the Venetians. The Moors of Granada, whom Charles V. had obliged to receive baptism, notwithstanding the treaty of capitulation made with Ferdinand his maternal grand-father, had for a long time concealed their attachment to the Alcoran under an outward appearance of Christianity. At length the rigour of the inquisition having forced off the mask with which they endeavoured to conceal their religion; constrained to defend their life, which their enemies wanted to take from them by the torments of the rack, they fortified themselves on the steepest mountain of the kingdom of Granada, where they defended themselves like desperate men. In this extremity they dispatched a deputy, who was so fortunate as to arrive at Constantinople. He represented the melancholy situation of fifty thousand families, the remains of a great people destroyed by the sword of the Christians in hatred of the law of Mahomet. They solicited succours of men and money, or at least vessels to flee from their country, an armed fleet, and some land forces to protect their retreat. This would have been a real war of religion, such as the law of Mahomet so much recommends, and for which the treasures of the mosques are intended; such as would do honor to a monarch, as the object was to protect the oppressed, and to snatch men from the persecution of a false zeal. The grand vizier

The Moors
of Spain
are refused
succours.

vizier Mehemet was for abandoning the enterprise on the isle of Cyprus, and hastening to the succour of these unfortunate Granadians; but Selim's soul was not formed for great actions, and the policy of his viziers saw nothing beyond conquests. Not one member of the divan was of Mehemet's opinion: in vain did he call for the fetfa of the musti, this chief of the religion, who knew how to conform to circumstances, replied, that all the Granadians had ceased to be Mussulmen, and that they had rendered themselves unworthy of the protection of the Porte, by the cowardice which they had shewn in receiving baptism and assisting at the Christian mysteries. The deputy of the Granadians was sent back without obtaining the least succour. The captain bashaw Piali, and the vizier Mustapha bashaw, who had urged most the conquest of Cyprus, prevailed on the sultan to declare war formally against the Venetians.

J.C. 1568.
Heg. 975,
& 976.

They sent to the republic a chiau with the title of ambassador. He was admitted into the senate, where he endeavoured to prove the rights of the grand seignior to the isle of Cyprus, as a part of Egypt which belonged to the Ottoman crown. After having complained that the ports of this island served as a retreat for all the Christian corsairs, he concluded with saying that it must be restored to his master if the republic wished to avoid a war. The Venetian senate replied with

War declared
against the
republic of
Venice.

dignity

J.C. 1568.
Heg. 975,
& 976. dignity by the mouth of their doge, that the re-
public would defend what had belonged to Chris-
tendom for several ages, and to them more re-
cently by a legitimate succession. The chiau
persisting in his demand, by a pompous account of
the forces which his master intended for this
great enterprise, no answer was made him. The
ambassador desired, when he retired, to be con-
ducted by a secret door, as he was afraid of being
insulted by the people, who had appeared greatly
enraged against him. The Venetians got rid of
this troublesome guest as soon as possible, who
was only a spy disguised under an honorable title.
The day after this audience, he was sent back to
Constantinople in a brigantine of the republic's.

J.C. 1569.
Heg. 976,
& 977. Such an adversary as the Turkish emperor was
too powerful for the Venetians to think of resist-
ing without foreign succours. They implored
the assistance of all the Christian powers against
him whom they termed the common enemy.
But Maximilian relished the advantages of the
truce which he had concluded, so favorable to
his hereditary dominions. France was rent by
intestine dissensions: it had no interest to seek
new enemies. The pope, Pius V. saw with grief
the progress of the Infidels; but he was too weak
to give the Venetians very powerful succours by
himself. The king of Spain, who seemed to have
more interest than any other monarch to stop the
progress of the Orientals, received with great at-
tention

tention the ambassador sent him by the republic ; J.C. 1569.
Heg. 976,
& 977.
but the policy of Philip II. was the same as his father's : he promised much and performed little. The Venetians received with the greatest joy the promise which the king of Spain made them to send, without delay, sixty-five galleys from the ports of Sicily, to join seventy belonging to the republic, and twelve which the pope was likewise to furnish. Philip II. assured them that he should not confine the effects of his alliance to this ; but Doria, his admiral in Sicily, the nephew of that Andrew Doria, admiral to Charles V. who had formerly so faintly and slowly succoured the Venetians, was neither less cold nor less slow to succour the isle of Cyprus. The Ottoman forces were much sooner assembled. Two hundred sail, both galleys and pinks or vessels, carrying eighty thousand land forces, of which twenty thousand were janissaries or spahis, departed under the orders of Piali. Mustapha commanded the land forces, and, consequently, was to direct the sieges. The fleet anchored before Tina, an island of the Archipelago, fortified by nature, but which was not rich enough to satisfy the avidity of the Musulmen. The Venetians had a considerable garrison there. The first attempts of the Ottoman army were so unsuccessful, that Mustapha and Piali, who were afraid of the Christian fleet's getting the start of them at the isle of Cyprus, soon raised

J.C. 1569. raised this siege in order to repair to their real
 Heg. 976,
 & 977. destination.

Descrip-
 tion of the
 isle of Cy-
 prus.

The isle of Cyprus, situated on the coast of Asia, being two hundred miles long and seventy broad, is, as we have already observed, one of the most fortunate places in the universe. There were a great many towns in it formerly, all exceedingly well peopled. As long as its inhabitants were free from a foreign yoke, they found in their country every thing necessary to sustain and even make life agreeable. The temperature of the air produced every kind of fruit, and the farmers had but little occasion to assist the fertility of the soil; but since an aristocratical republic had made itself master of this island, that is, since its inhabitants no longer worked but for a small number of greedy, despotic men, adversity had stifled emulation and industry; the Cyprians were afraid to make a shew of plenty lest it should draw on them envy and persecution. Of thirty towns known under the kings of Cyprus, scarcely five remained that merited that name, among which there were but two that could sustain a siege. They were called Famagusta and Nicosia. All the inhabitants that were not shut up within their walls, ran to meet the Turks, who landed without any obstacle. These Islanders, contented to change masters, offered the enemies of the Venetians, their provisions, their houses, their beasts of burden, in short, every thing that tyranny had

The
 Turkish
 fleet ar-
 rives at
 Cyprus.

had not taken from them. The defenders of Cyprus indeed had not thought it of consequence to ravage the country which they were obliged to abandon to the enemy. The Turks, better received in the island than if they had entered a country which had been several years under their obedience, did no injury to these peaceable inhabitants; one would have thought their army in the dominions of some friendly power reposing themselves after the fatigues of war. The Cyprians advised them to begin with the siege of Nicosia, as the easiest place to be taken. This town, situated in the middle of a fertile plain, was well fortified, had a pretty strong citadel, and very good ramparts. But, though there were ten thousand men able to carry arms, Nicholas Dandolo, a noble Venetian who commanded in the place, depended only on fifteen hundred soldiers of his own country, and a thousand gentlemen, who, more attached to the republic than all the other Islanders, had formed themselves into a corps to resist the Turks. The rest, but little formed for the fatigues of war, wished above every thing to see it ended, and almost all desired to change masters. Dandolo dispatched a felucca to hasten the succours of the combined fleet of Venice, Spain, and the pope. The officer charged with this commission found the Venetian fleet under Candia. He observed to admiral Zane, who commanded it, that one of the finest posses-

J.C. 1570.
Heg. 977,
& 978.

J.C. 1570.
Heg. 978.

fions of the republic was on the point of being wrested from it: that all the Cyprians, greedy of novelty, favored the Turks; and that succours were never more wanted both to repulse the enemy and keep the rebels in subjection. Zane had orders from the senate not to quit Candia 'till the Spaniards should join his fleet, too weak by itself to be opposed to the Turks. Whilst he was dispatching brigantines every day to Doria to hasten the execution of his promises, the Spaniard delayed putting to sea under different pretences, waiting, as he said, for some particular orders from his court.

Meanwhile the siege of Nicosia advanced: a numerous and well disciplined army surrounded the ramparts, on which a well served artillery began to make an impression. There were neither sufficient abilities nor discipline in the town, to give hopes of defending this important place a long time. The troops had but little confidence in Dandolo. The gentlemen with him were continually intermeddling in giving orders, and no one would obey. To add to the disaster, provisions fell short in the most fertile place in the world. The governor had not taken the precaution to provision the town; he knew not, before the siege, how to fix in Nicosia the abundance which surrounded it, and which the country people lavished on the Turkish army. Notwithstanding all this disorder, Nicosia held out a month,

month. But the breaches at length became so large, that there were not sufficient men left to repair, or even to defend them. In the last moments of the siege, the danger roused the valour of these people, more accustomed to the cares of commerce than the fatigues of war. The enemy having succeeded in two assaults made on the ramparts, the citizens and remaining soldiers intrenched themselves in the streets and in some houses, from whence, after a vigorous resistance, they capitulated. The Turks promised them their life, but did not keep their word; for, as soon as the vanquished had abandoned their intrenchments which defended the streets, and had thrown down their arms, the booty, in exciting the greediness of the Turks, excited likewise their barbarity. According to their custom, they shed streams of blood, and the groans of the dying mixed with the shouts of the vanquishers. The janissaries, after having massacred more than fifteen thousand defenceless men, priests, women, children, and old men, loaded with chains twenty-five thousand of those whom they thought best able to serve. This cruelty made the country people repent of the reception which they had given to such masters, and of the assistance they had lent them to massacre their countrymen. The Turks had never met with such a rich booty any where. The profound peace which the Cyprians had enjoyed so many years, had rendered Nicosia very

J.C. 1570.
Heg. 978.

Taking of
Nicosia.

J.C. 1570.
Heg. 978.

flourishing, though the rest of the island complained of the Venetian yoke. This island was the staple of all the commerce, the retreat of those who had enriched themselves by it, and the residence of all the nobility and gentry, who spent at Nicosia the produce of the lands which they possessed elsewhere.

Some young women of high birth, made slaves at Nicosia, and designed for the haram, blow up the vessel in which they were embarked.

When the chiefs and soldiers had glutted themselves with booty, they loaded a vessel with what they had found most valuable, and sent it with these fortunate news to Constantinople. They put on board this vessel several young female slaves of illustrious birth and exquisite beauty, whose age and figure condemned them beforehand to the captivity of the haram. One of them, called Arnalda Rocas, having convinced her companions of their horrid destiny, persuaded them to prevent it, by burying with them in the sea the riches which these barbarians had wrested from their country. These young victims, worthy of a better fate, found means to set fire to the powder which was kept in the hold, and blew up themselves, the vessel, and all the crew. Two sailors half burnt were picked up by a bark which was rowing at some distance, and related how this rich booty perished.

Admiral Doria, who had lingered almost all the summer, at length determined to join the Venetian and papal fleets at Candia. The plague, which had broken out on board the Venetian vessels,

fels, had caused new delays: at length, about the middle of September, the confederates put to sea to succour the isle of Cyprus, where the Turks had had time to establish themselves. They learned on the passage the loss of Nicosia. Doria seized this pretext for returning with the Spanish galleys to Sicily. Neither the solicitations of admiral Zane, nor those of Colonna who commanded the pope's galleys, could retain Doria: he said that Nicosia being taken, the isle of Cyprus was lost, and that his orders being only to defend it, if it were possible, he had nothing more to do but to retire. The two commanders pressed Doria to stay at least for the Turkish fleet, which would return soon loaded with booty, and weakened by the number of men and vessels which it would leave in the ports of Cyprus to besiege Famagusta. They observed that this fleet could not fail of being beaten by a fresh and numerous army: indeed it should have offered rather a rich convoy to pillage than a fleet to fight. These good reasons could not convince Doria: he was obstinately bent on returning to Sicily. This separation having taken place, Zane did not think himself strong enough to attack the Turks to advantage; he durst not stand towards Nicosia, nor wait for the fleet in its passage. In effect, the captain bashaw Piali, having left sixty thousand men in the isle of Cyprus, under the command of Mustapha, transported to Constantinople all

J.C. 1570.
Heg. 978.

The confederate fleet separates.

The Turks carry to Constantinople the booty made at Nicosia.

the

J.C. 1570. the slaves and riches taken at Nicòsia, without
 Heg. 978. any one's endeavouring to dispute this rich
 booty with him;

Siege of
 Fama-
 gusta.

Immediately after the taking of this place, Mustapha prepared to besiege Famagusta, a town situated on the south side of the island, better fortified than the capital, and containing a garrison of eight thousand men. The Turks beat down a forest of orange trees, lemon trees, and others of the same kind, in order to besiege the town the closer. After this, Mustapha attempted to fright the governor and the troops: he made all his spahis and part of his janissaries file off in sight of the ramparts, each carrying on the point of his lance or sword a head of those who had been massacred at the first siege. Mustapha even sent that of governor Dandolo to Bragadin who commanded in Famagusta, telling him by the same messenger to profit by that example, and not to let himself be reduced to the last extremity, if he would preserve his life. The Venetian, irritated at such a message, replied to Mustapha: "I know not which of the two is to sink under the arms of the other; but I swear I will never be thy slave." The rumour spread of the confederate fleet's approaching the island, gave Mustapha a great deal of inquietude. He offered the besieged advantageous conditions, who constantly replied with the same firmness, in hopes of the succour which never arrived. After

having

having waited for it a long time, they sent their bishop to Venice to represent their situation. J.C. 1570.
Heg. 978.
The senate, full of indignation at the conduct of the Spanish admiral, sent sixteen hundred men in its galleys, who arrived safe at Famagusta, and it was resolved at Venice to break with an ally who acted like an enemy. Though the climate of the isle of Cyprus is so very temperate, the seasons seemed to conspire this year to give the Venetians the assistance which Doria had refused them. The snow and frost thwarted the operations of the siege in a time when the heat scarcely begins to decrease in Cyprus. As the resistance of the besieged was always very obstinate, and the work of the besiegers became both fatiguing and very bloody, Mustapha, who wished to visit the whole island, which was reduced every where else, turned the siege into a blockade; he took the severest part of the season to over-run all the open towns, all the villages and creeks, in short, to know thoroughly the value of this conquest which he considered as certain. It is interrupted.

Whilst the garrison of Famagusta was enjoying this interruption, the pope, Pius V. endeavoured to reanimate the confederacy, and reunite the king of Spain with the Venetians, who had such just reasons of complaint against that monarch. Admiral Colonna was sent to the republic, not to excuse the conduct of Doria, but to propose the means to prevent such inconveniencies in future.

J.C. 1570.
Heg. 978.

future. The pontiff's envoy was admitted into the assembly of the senate, where he was placed below the doge. Colonna entered strongly into the pressing necessity there was for the Christians to reunite themselves against the common enemy: he gave hopes of the Germanic corps' joining the league, and said that the way to obtain this union, was to establish it first between the republic, Spain, and the Holy See, on a foundation so solid, that this confederacy should no longer be but one sole body under the command of the same chief; that the Spanish monarch consented that every thing should be decided by the plurality of voices between the commanders of each member of the confederacy; that the pontiff assured the republic of a perfect agreement; that by this mean neither Doria nor any other Spanish chief would be able to hinder the operations, nor even refuse to contribute towards them; that as to the rest, the common interest and pressing circumstances ought to stifle every kind of resentment, and that the past should be remembered only to avoid the rocks on which they had split. The pope's envoy being gone out in order to leave the senators the leisure of deliberating, there were very long debates. Several exclaimed, that such an ally as the king of Spain was more dangerous than the most powerful enemy; that all the Spaniards were secretly jealous of the republic; that it was better to make
a dis-

a disadvantageous peace than a war still more disadvantageous, and to submit to necessity, by sparing blood and money, than to have to fight at the same time both friends and enemies. Nevertheless the pope's promises and the new conditions of the treaty prevailed with the majority. Colonna was desired to re-enter the assembly, when he presented the articles of the treaty such as they were already formed, and such as several senators had seen them. They contained in substance, that the confederate army should be composed of two hundred galleys, a hundred vessels, fifty thousand men, and four thousand five hundred horse; that every necessary provision should be made for a train of artillery, and for ammunition; that all these forces should be employed against the possessions of the Infidels, and particularly Tunis, Algiers, and Tripoli; that however, the designs and measures might be changed according to conjunctures and events; that the rendezvous of the troops should be at Otranto; that the king of Spain should pay half the expences, for which half he appropriated the revenues of Naples and Sicily; that the other half should be divided in three, of which the Venetians should furnish two-thirds and the pope the other; that the republic should furnish his holiness with twelve galleys properly rigged with their sails and cordage, which he would have armed at his expence; that the three chiefs should have a consulting vote;

J.C. 1570.
Heg. 978.

Colonna
prevails on
the senate
of Venice
to renew
the confederacy.
Conditions
of this confederacy.

J.C. 1570.
Heg. 978.

that the execution should be intrusted to Don John of Austria, natural son of Charles V. declared admiral of the league, and that in his absence Mark Anthony Colonna should have the command : that all the Christian princes who should be willing to enter into this league in proportion to their forces and power should be admitted ; that what they furnished should go towards augmenting the number of troops ; that the conquests should be divided in proportion to the forces combined ; and that the pope should be the arbitrator of all the differences that might arise between the allies.

The Venetians signed this treaty, and seriously meant to put it into execution ; but the usual delays of the court of Spain deprived them of the principal advantages which they had reason to expect from this league, the preservation of the isle of Cyprus. They fought the Turks in Dalmatia, where they were sometimes vanquished and sometimes vanquishers ; but these trifling events made no alteration in their position, and are not sufficiently important to merit a place in history. The winter was passed in negotiations at Venice and Constantinople ; for the republic, before it engaged itself definitively in this league, had made vain efforts to obtain a peace with the grand seignior. Mustapha remained idle in the isle of Cyprus during this rigorous season.

In the beginning of the spring the Ottoman fleet, after having ravaged the isles of Zante and Cefalonia, two rich staples of the Venetian commerce, in which there was not a single place in a situation to make resistance, conducted twenty thousand men to the isle of Cyprus. With this reinforcement Mustapha recommenced the siege of Famagusta. Bragadin had not remained idle during the intermission left him by the Turks. The citizens, exasperated at the cruelties of these barbarians, formed themselves into a body of troops under the command of their governor, to share the perils and fatigues of the garrison. Bragadin had had some defective cannon refounded, and all the breaches, which the attempts of the Turks had opened in his walls, repaired. The numerous army of the Turks, and the resolution of his garrison, convinced him that the siege would be very long. He got in as much provision and ammunition as possible, and sent out thirteen thousand old men, women, and children, who spread themselves in the villages; Bragadin choosing to keep in the place those only who could be useful in its defence. Every thing that valour and the military science could do was executed by both parties in this siege. Those, who remained in Famagusta, were either engineers, or soldiers, or pioneers. Mustapha regarded the lives of his troops as little as those of the besieged; for the Turks know not how to make war without losing

J.C. 1571.
Heg. 978.

Mustapha
recom-
mences the
siege of
Fama-
gusta.
Vigorous
resistance
of the in-
habitants.

J.C. 1571.
Heg. 979.

a great many foldiers. He was two months before he could make a lodgement on the first half-moon. Their efforts redoubled in proportion to their success; but the resistance was always as vigorous, constant, and well conducted. It was remarked, that, during the four months and a half which this siege lasted, there was not a single prisoner made on either side. Neither the soldiers nor citizens of Famagusta gave any quarter; and they would not accept of any for themselves. The example of Nicosia had made them as cruel as their enemies. They constantly fancied that they should see the confederate fleet arrive. This hope sustained them, 'till the cannon of the enemy having killed more than three parts of the defenders of the place, and laid open its ramparts on all sides, they feared that the Turks, who gave frequent assaults, would be soon masters of the town. Bragadin had sworn that he would never be the slave of the Turks: he would hear of no capitulation; but the citizens, seeing their hopes vanish, soon lost every kind of courage. Those women who had remained in the town for more than four months past were constantly on the ramparts. They had forgotten their sex to fulfil all the duties of soldiers; but as soon as they perceived only a fatal end to all their labour, this valour was converted into fear. Some vessels which they perceived at a distance, and which they thought could be nothing but a succour, restored

restored life for some moments to this disconsolate multitude; but when, on the approach of the object, they distinguished the Turkish flag and the clothes of those who composed the crew; in fine, when it was no longer to be doubted that this supposed succour was a reinforcement for the enemy, the cries redoubled and despair breathed forth anew. The principal citizens went to Bragadin, and represented to him, that their bravest soldiers were buried under the ruins of the ramparts; that they and even their wives were covered with wounds; that they had neither sufficient men, nor arms, nor ammunition for their defence; that their walls, open in so many places, seemed to invite the enemy to scale them; that this enemy, much less cruel than he had been represented, was unceasingly offering them propositions for surrendering a place which they were no longer able to defend, and to grant them their life which the Turks had in their power to take; that justice and humanity would not permit Bragadin to expose to certain death what remained of citizens and soldiers at Famagusta, whose loss would be absolutely useless to the republic, and who, on the contrary, might be able to serve it elsewhere; that the janissaries said to them continually that they would no more touch their liberty than their life, and that they would give them vessels to carry them to Europe. All at length declared, that it were better to preserve themselves

J.C. 1571.
Heg. 979.

J.C. 1571.
Heg. 979.

themselves to revenge the taking of Famagusta, than to perish before it was reduced under the power of Mustapha. Bragadin replied to them, that it was impossible to put trust in the Turks, and that the example of Nicosia should open their eyes to the fate which awaited them, if they should have the weakness to listen to proposals. The citizens persisted, reminding the governor that the Ottomans had faithfully observed the capitulations of Rhodes, Strigonia, Albaregalis, and several other places; in fine, said they, a general massacre will never be more certain, than when what is no longer defenceable shall be obstinately defended. During this conversation, the inspector of provisions came to inform Bragadin, that there were no more than seven barrels of powder, and flour for three days in Famagusta. The citizens exclaimed immediately, that if, in a town reduced to this extremity, a capitulation, such as they thought themselves sure of obtaining, were refused them; namely, the honors of war for the garrison, preservation of all property, liberty of conscience, and emigration for the citizens, the chiefs who should dare resist such offers must be considered as madmen and even barbarians.

They prevail on the governor to capitulate.

Bragadin, overcome by these clamours, consented to the hanging out of the white flag, immediately on which there was a suspension of arms. Mustapha having sent an officer, escorted by

by two hundred janissaries, to the principal gate of the town, it was agreed to give hostages on both sides. Those of the Turks were a kiaia or lieutenant of the bashaw, and the kiaia of the aga of the janissaries, accompanied by six subaltern officers of that corps. Those of the besieged were two noble Venetians and six of the principal citizens of Famagusta, who had served during the siege. These hostages were to prepare articles of capitulation. Mustapha received these eight Christians with an affability which made them presage well of their mission. He gave them rich castans or robes of ceremony: and after having praised their valour, it was mutually agreed that the besieged should march out with arms, baggage, and five pieces of cannon; that they should be provided with vessels to carry them to Candia; that the inhabitants should have liberty to continue in the town or to leave it, and that they should not be disturbed either in the exercise of their religion, or in their liberty, or property. These articles, thus agreed on and signed by Mustapha, were soon signed likewise by Bragadin. The Turks prepared to execute them immediately, by bringing vessels into the port, on board which those who proposed to leave the place began to embark their effects. The Turks were unable to recover from their astonishment, when they considered the weakness and small number of men that had so obstinately resisted

J.C. 1571.
Heg. 979.

Conditions
of the ca-
pitulation.

J.C. 1571.
Heg. 978.

Mustapha
soon vio-
lates it.

sisted them. Fatigue and scarcity had reduced them to the most deplorable state; they appeared more like skeletons than soldiers. Without doubt the account given to Mustapha made him regret that he had granted so easily an advantageous capitulation to enemies who could not have resisted him a long time. The janissaries were no sooner masters of one of the gates, than they began to commit disorders. Bragadin immediately complained of it. He wrote the bashaw a firm but respectful letter, in which he reminded him of the articles of the capitulation; he summoned him to put them fully in execution, and to send in consequence all the vessels necessary to transport the troops and citizens, assuring him, that, after their embarkation, he would come himself and lay the keys of the town at his feet. Mustapha, concealing his perfidy under a false appearance of humanity, gave orders for the janissaries to be restrained, sent more vessels into the port, and pressed Bragadin to come to his camp, expressing a flattering desire to see so brave a man.

Knavery
and un-
known
cruelty of
Mustapha.

Bragadin repaired to the bashaw's tent, clothed with a purple habit, which marked his dignity, accompanied by some noble Venetians and Cyprian gentlemen who had shared with him the peril and glory of the defence of Famagusta, all on horseback, escorted by fifty foot soldiers well armed. The magnificence of this retinue seemed

to

to displease the bashaw, or at least was the first pretext for his change of conduct. After having lavished on these Christians the name of Giaurs, which signifies dogs, and given vent to his contempt and hatred, he ordered all the troop to be disarmed, even the governor, when he demanded of him what security he would give him for the vessels which were to transport his soldiers and citizens to Candia. Bragadin having replied that none was due, as the capitulation did not mention any; that the bashaw must be contented with his oath and that of all the other chiefs, which were as good as any security whatsoever; Mustapha immediately declared, that he would retain as prisoners those who were present, 'till the vessels should be returned from Candia. The governor exclaimed against this perfidy, perhaps with more reason than prudence, and all reproached Mustapha with his treachery. The bashaw instantly ordered all these nobles to be loaded with chains, though they were in his tent on the faith of his word; and he told them, with a barbarous smile, that, if their Christ did not wrest them from his hands, they might expect to perish. During this base quarrel, the janissaries had received orders to march towards the town. Mustapha followed them at a little distance, and had all those loaded with irons who were preparing to go to Candia; he declared them slaves to the grand seignior his master, as likewise all

J.C. 1571.
Heg. 979.

J.C. 1571.
Heg. 979.

those who should remain in the town, and who would not enjoy their property there but through his great favor. The effects already carried on board the vessels were pillaged by the janissaries, as likewise every thing belonging to the Cyprians that proposed to quit the country, and who had been just loaded with chains. The bashaw caused those, who had accompanied Bragadin, to be beheaded in his presence. This generous governor was himself ordered to be executed; and, by a refinement of cruelty, they made him present his head several times to the block without striking. Mustapha ordered him to be loaded with stones designed to repair the breaches, and to be put to the hardest and most mortifying labour. As this illustrious, unfortunate man resisted all these indignities, he had him flayed alive, saying, that it was but equitable that he, who had shed so much Ottoman blood, should lose all his own in dying; then having had his skin filled with straw, he hung it up to one of the yards of his galley, and carried to Constantinople this pretended monument of his victory, a monument much rather of his barbarity and treachery.

He returns
to Constantinople.

Before he brought back his fleet to Constantinople, Mustapha had the fortifications of Famagusta and Nicosia repaired. He distributed twenty thousand men in different towns to guard the isle of Cyprus: he established a sangiac there according

according to the power which he had received J.C. 1571.
Heg. 979. for that purpose from the Porte; after which he put to sea, and returned to his own country, without having met the confederate fleet. Rich as this conquest was, it had cost too many crimes to be truly glorious. Mustapha was received in the port of Constantinople with great honors and all the magnificence of triumph. It seemed just, that he, who was polluted with so many murders, should perish in his turn by a violent death. This was what his enemies hoped for; but they could not obtain it.

The grand vizier Mehemet had not pardoned Mustapha's having caused the expedition of Cyprus to be resolved on against his advice. Mustapha & Piali are deposed. This success, so advantageous for the Ottoman empire, humbled more and more the prime minister: he feared, with reason, that a voluptuous monarch, equally incapable of bearing the fatigues of war and of sustaining the weight of government, would one day prefer a conquering general to a minister recommendable by no one brilliant action. A Turkish manuscript says, that Mehemet attacked Mustapha, as the animal which, during the sleeping of the crocodile, enters its body by the mouth wide open, and gnaws its entrails. Whilst the bashaw, puffed up with his success, was looking upon himself as the support of his master and the idol of the empire, the grand vizier secretly undermined him, complain-

J.C. 1571. ing to Selim both of Mustapha's arrogance, and
 Heg. 979. his infidelity in the division of the booty of the
 isle of Cyprus, which he said had been immense, and of which but very little had been received by the troops and the empire. They never thought of reproaching him with his perfidy to the governor and garrison of Famagusta, or with the blood which he had spilt to no purpose; these were no crimes in the eyes of the Turks. Mehemet chose rather to suppose this general whom he wanted to get rid of guilty of rapine. Mustapha was stripped of his honors and sent to a distant sangiacate of little consequence. Selim durst not have him executed, lest the noise of his death should have too great an effect on the janissaries, who had assisted at his conquests, and among the people, who had witnessed his triumph. At the same time the grand vizier ordered Piali to be dispossessed of the charge of captain bashaw. This last was reproached only with negligence in his duty, and not having sufficiently desolated the coasts belonging to the Venetians. The place of captain bashaw was given to Ali, who paid dearly for the example of Piali as we shall presently see.

The confederates, who had left their enemy the time to get possession of the isle of Cyprus, found themselves at length in a state to put to sea two hundred and twenty galleys, some of which belonged to the Order of Malta, six Venetian

netian galleasses, and twenty-five other vessels or <sup>J.C. 1571.
Heg. 979.</sup> pinks. This powerful fleet was, according to the treaty, commanded by Don John of Austria; but this same treaty prescribed to the chief to let the operations be decided in council by the plurality of voices. Though the fleet was ready to leave the port of Messina, it was not yet determined what maritime place to attack. The Venetian admiral proposed fighting rather the Turkish fleet, which was reported to be already at sea, and he represented this expedition as the quickest, surest, and most glorious, because the Turkish vessels are never so well formed nor skilfully managed as those of the Christians. There was no doubt but the Turks would soon approach the coasts belonging to the republic, or some other Christian power; so that the enemy was not difficult to be found. Don John of Austria, young, full of ardour, well seconded too by these Venetians, able mariners, who desired to revenge the misfortunes of their country, longed like them to signalize himself by a memorable victory. Doria's timid counsels were not attended to. They sent three galleys on the look out, which soon learned that the Turkish fleet, consisting of three hundred sail, had entered the gulf of Lepanto. The Lepantians had already surrendered without striking a blow; and what belonged to the Venetians in this gulf did not promise to make a better resistance.

Don

J.C. 1579.
Heg. 971.

Battle of
Lepanto
where the
Turks lose
most all
their fleet.

Don John crowded all his sails and plied his oars to enter the gulf. Ali bashaw, who might have come out before the arrival of his enemy, chose rather to wait for him there. He thought himself superior in force, and would not be accused, like his predecessor, of shunning brilliant occasions. His lieutenants, better sailors than he, vainly endeavoured to convince him, that, in a narrow place like the gulf of Lepanto, he would lose the advantage of number, particularly as he had no galleys which worked so well as those of the enemy. The bashaw of the sea would hear nothing; but he began to repent of his rashness when he saw the enemy's fleet, much more numerous than he had at first thought it, occupy in a straight line the same space which he did, in a crescent, that is, nearly the breadth of the gulf. The facility with which this fleet was ranged in battle, threw the Turks into the greatest astonishment. The six Venetian galleasses, advanced beyond the front, began the battle by a terrible fire, both of artillery and small arms, which reached every part of the crescent. This curved line of the Turks was soon broken: the address with which the Venetians, Spaniards, and all the confederates, worked their galleys, decided the battle in a very short time. The two admiral galleys attacked one another with great fury: they were equally well defended. The captain bashaw's carried four hundred janissaries, and

Don

Don John of Austria's, as many chosen men. J.C. 1571.
Heg. 979.
The young prince and the Turkish admiral wished equally to meet. The two vessels soon grappled. Don John gained the grappling of his adversary; and, after a most obstinate engagement, having forced him to retire into the cabin, he pressed him so close, that Ali, and almost all his crew, lost their lives there. Don John immediately ordered the colours of the league to be hoisted on the galley which he had just taken, and he had the head of the captain bashaw fastened to the main-mast head; after which he manœuvred this vessel with such success, that he carried with him every where terror and victory. Almost all the Christian galleys were as fortunate as the admiral. The Turkish bands of slaves were composed mostly of Christians. As soon as a crew had the disadvantage, the galley-slaves declared for those whom they considered as their deliverers, and the galley surrendered presently. Though victory inclined early towards the confederates, the resistance of the Turks was long and bloody: their despair made them sell their lives dearly. Otchiali, bashaw of Algiers, and lieutenant to Ali, after having fought several hours as valiantly as the misfortune of the Turks would permit him, saved thirty vessels by favor of the night. All the rest of the fleet was taken or sunk. The loss of the Ottomans was estimated at thirty thousand men, without

J.C. 1571. without counting fifteen thousand Christian slaves
 Heg. 979. which the confederates snatched from captivity.

The Christians took a hundred and sixty-one galleys, twelve galliots, and several other hulks run aground and broken in pieces, a hundred and seventeen pieces of large cannon, two hundred and fifty-six less ones, and eighteen pedereros. They employed a fortnight in dividing the spoils. Doria hinted to Don John, that, being admiral of the league, he ought to take for himself the most considerable part of the booty, which he did not fail of doing, notwithstanding the reclamations. Colonna informed the pope, that, after the battle with the Infidels, the Christians were several times on the point of fighting with one another for the division of the spoils. He took two children of Ali's, whom he conducted to Rome in triumph, as pledges and proofs of the victory.

Confirma-
 tion of the
 Turks after
 the battle
 of Lepanto.

The news of the defeat of Lepanto threw the emperor Selim into despair. He felt the humiliation with which his troops were covered; and in a moment of fury, this weak, barbarous prince ordered all the Christians that inhabited Constantinople to be slaughtered without distinction of sex or age. Mehemet took upon him to prevent this senseless massacre; and when his master had recovered himself, he observed to him, that he wanted to add a greater loss to that which he had already met with; that he would deprive himself of
 the

the most industrious and commercial part of his subjects; and that at the same time he would break off all correspondence with the Frank nations, which the East could not do without. It was a great deal, in this age, for the Ottomans to know how to value and calculate men as other people do their property and pieces of money. Humanity was almost unknown at the Porte: greedy, voluptuous, haughty slaves are rarely men. The consternation of the people at these news was almost as great as the emperor's. Mehemet took great care to restrain the public signs of grief and discouragement; he sent for the Venetian ambassador, who, contrary to the law of nations, had been retained at the Porte, and carefully watched, though he had demanded a great many times his audience of dismissal. As this minister had great difficulty to conceal his joy, the grand vizier said to him: "Learn, what thy republic shall soon know, that the forces of the Ottoman empire are always on the increase. We have cut off an arm from the state of Venice by wresting the isle of Cyprus from it. Killing our men and taking our vessels from us as you have done, is nothing more than shaving our beards, which will grow the thicker for it." Notwithstanding this pretended confidence, Mehemet advised his master to remove his court to Adrianople. And indeed, if the victorious fleet had taken advantage of the

J.C. 1571
Heg. 979.

J.C. 1571.
Heg. 979.

The Venetians are
unable to
profit by it.

circumstances, nothing could have prevented it from penetrating to Constantinople; but a body of confederates has always several heads: when they should have been acting they were deliberating; and though all agreed to take advantage of such a fortunate moment, after proposing several expeditions, to each of which there was always some obstacle, notwithstanding Colonna's promises to the senate of Venice, and the tenor of the treaty, Doria brought back his galleys to Messina; Don John conducted his to the port of Naples; Colonna returned with the pope's; those of Malta re-entered their ports; and the Venetians remained alone masters of the sea. In vain did the senate change its admiral, because Veniero, who commanded their fleet, and to whom great part of the victory of Lepanto was due, displeased Don John: the Spaniards had other reasons for prolonging the war than the caprice of their admiral. Philip II. the most jealous of men, was particularly so of the success of Venice, and had no mind to have that republic become too powerful. The death of Pius V. which happened in the mean time, completely disconcerted all these projects. The success of the battle of Lepanto was attended with no other conquest for the Venetians, than Malgariti, which cost them scarcely any blood; after which they went to Corfu to wait 'till their allies should think fit to join them.

Selim,

Selim, or rather his grand vizier Mehemet, J.C. 1572.
Heg. 980. knew better how to repair his disasters than the confederates did to profit by their success. Efforts of the Turks to repair their disasters. The treasures of the mosques were opened, and timber, workmen, sailors, and soldiers, were brought from different parts of Asia, Africa, and Europe. Notwithstanding the vices of its government, there is no state has more resources than Turkey, because the land is almost every where so fertile that it abounds in materials and men. Whilst the emperor was trembling in the seraglio of Adrianople, a multitude of shipwrights were working in the port of Constantinople; they made at the same time the hulks of the vessels, the rigging, the sails, and the masts. Otchiali, bashaw of Algiers, the best mariner that the Turks have had since Barbarossa, who, at the battle of Lepanto, had alone saved the broken remains of the Ottoman fleet, was just made captain bashaw. He over-looked all these works, and in less than six months, two hundred galleys, all equipped, covered the port of Constantinople. The captain bashaw was ordered to carry them soon to sea. It was highly necessary to shew the Christians that the Ottoman forces were always regenerating. The fleet, just by way of shewing itself, went off the isle of Malvasia, seemingly as if it would seek the enemy, which the prudent bashaw had no desire to meet with.

J.C. 1572.
Heg. 980.

The confederates unite again.

The Turkish and Christian fleets perceive each other at a distance.

The new pope, Gregory XIII, had already endeavoured to reunite the members of the confederacy. Colonna had left Corfu with thirteen galleys. Philip II. on the repeated complaints of the pope, had sent twenty-two galleys there. These two squadrons, joined to the hundred galleys which the republic of Venice had not disarmed since the preceding year, made all together a hundred and thirty-five, without counting some high-built vessels belonging to the three powers. This was not fulfilling the conditions of the treaty on the part of Philip II.; but this fleet lighter and better armed than that of the Turks, though much less numerous, would have beaten it without doubt, if all the chiefs had been animated with the same sincerity and interest for the common cause. Don John remained at Messina by order of the court of Madrid. The Christian fleet sailed in quest of the Turks. Otchiali, who had advised his predecessor not to wait for the confederates in the gulf of Lepanto, would much less have done it with new galleys constructed in haste, and with sailors and even pilots little formed for the sea, in fine, with a fleet thoroughly new, and on which he could not much depend, if he had not been sure that the Christians would not come to action. On the arrival of the confederates off Cerigo, they discovered the Ottoman fleet. Their van guard cannonaded at a great distance the rear guard of the Turks. The two fleets

fleets remained some time in presence of each other; but in spite of the solicitations of the Venetians, neither Colonna nor the Spanish admiral would approach nearer. The general time of the confederacy, Don John, dispatched a brigantine to order his fleet to come for him at Corfu, where he had brought thirty new galleys. Whilst the Christians were thus retrograding, the Turks remained masters of the sea. The latter indeed wanted only to appear formidable, and the Spaniards wished only to appear to assist the Venetians. Don John had not left Messina, and been three weeks at the head of the Christian fleet, when he gave notice that he was going to separate for want of provisions. The Venetians, who wanted to besiege Navarino, combated this new pretext with offering biscuit to the Spaniards; but the prince wanted provisions, only because he was resolved to want them. The Spaniards once more quitted the fleet.

J.C. 1572.
Heg. 980.

Don John
joins the
confederate
fleet.

The Span-
ish & papal
galleys re-
fuse the
Venetians
to go and
attack the
Turks.


Don John
brings
back the
Spanish
galleys.

These news excited both indignation and grief at Venice. The senators, who always regretted the loss of Cyprus, had flattered themselves that the success of Lepanto would have enabled them to recover that rich country. But their doge, Mocenigo, who had more credit with the republic than his dignity had given his predecessors, strongly represented, that false friends, such as the Spaniards, were more dangerous than open enemies; that with such succours the senate would

J.C. 1572.
Heg. 98c.

would never recover the isle of Cyprus; that the policy of Philip II. prolonged the war, only to enervate the republic by making it furnish double the number of vessels stipulated in the treaty, and putting it to an immense expence, without permitting a fleet of such strength and cost to be of the least utility; that the republic could not resist the Turks by itself; that therefore it was requisite to take advantage of this phantom of a confederacy to conclude an advantageous peace, before the Turks should perceive the misunderstanding which divided the confederates. These reasons prevailed. The ambassador, who was always like a prisoner at Constantinople, received orders to negotiate. Mehemet, whom the confederate fleet made uneasy, and who knew very well that there was but little dependance to be put on that which Otchiali commanded, shewed himself less difficult than he had before appeared. Francis Denoailles, bishop of Acqs, at that time ambassador from France to the Porte, and who enjoyed a consideration which no Christian minister had ever experienced there before him, assisted the Venetians with all his address and the credit of his master. This ambassador, who knew how to treat with the Ottomans, threatened to make the confederacy more numerous and powerful, though, during the reign of Charles IX. France was not sufficiently tranquil to enter into quarrels in which it was so little interested,

Francis

Francis Denoailles represented to the Turks all J.C. 1572.
 Christendom as ready to join in the league. ^{Heg. 980.} 
 This intimidated Mehemet. It was agreed that
 the Venetians should restore the castle of Zafoso
 which they had taken in the beginning of the
 war; that they should pay the Porte three hun-
 dred thousand ducats by three equal payments;
 and that the ancient limits should be established
 in Dalmatia. When the treaty was brought to
 the Venetian ambassador to sign, as it was written
 in Turkish, because the Ottomans do not believe
 themselves bound by agreements written in a fo-
 reign language, the ambassador refused to sign
 before his druggerman had read it. The latter
 having seen that there was nothing said therein
 respecting the re-establishment of the limits of
 Dalmatia, the Venetian minister complained in
 severe terms. The French ambassador recom-
 menced his threats; the treaty was prepared anew,
 and signed by both parties. But the execution
 of the clause, which the Turks had attempted to
 withdraw, suffered an infinity of difficulties. The
 Venetians sent an officer to Dalmatia to fix these
 limits with the bashaw of the province. After
 long discussions, the republic, to avoid recom-
 mencing the war, gave up the territory de-
 pendent on Sebenico which belonged to it,
 and which the Turks were obstinately bent on
 keeping.

Peace con-
 cluded be-
 tween the
 Porte & the
 republic of
 Venice.

Whilst

J.C. 1573.
 Heg. 981.

The French
 ambassador
 is admitted
 to the au-
 dience of
 the grand
 seignior, &
 refuses to
 carry him
 the usual
 presents.

Whilst they were disputing about the limits of Dalmatia, Francis Denoailles desired to be admitted to the audience of the grand seignior, who was returned to Constantinople. Mehemet, having learned that the French ambassador was not going to carry any presents to lay at his highness's feet, determined at first to refuse his request. As Francis Denoailles threatened to return to his court, if he were not granted the honors due to the monarch that he represented, Mehemet offered to furnish him with presents to carry his highness. The ambassador replied, that it was not through a sordid economy that his master refused presents to the grand seignior, but that it was known in France that the sultan considered this offering from foreign powers as a homage due to his crown; that it was precisely this homage which his master meant to refuse a sovereign who was in every thing his equal. The affair of the limits of Dalmatia was not settled; Mehemet, who was desirous to have a peace, took care how he offended the only Christian power which he could consider as the friend of the Ottoman court. The bishop of Acqs was admitted to the audience of the emperor; and he acquired at Constantinople the consideration which his successors have since enjoyed, and which the other Christian ministers have in vain aspired at.

In the mean time, Selim received an ambassador from a Christian prince, who, far from refusing

fusing him homage, sent to receive at his feet the investiture of his sovereignty. This was the celebrated Stephen Battori, who, since the recent death of king Stephen Zapoli, had been elected prince of Transylvania. King Stephen had perished in a few hours. Those, who discern a crime wherever some one is interested in committing it, rumoured abroad that this prince, the last of his race, had been poisoned. Stephen Battori, whose talents and courage were known to all the Transylvanians, was placed by a powerful faction on the throne of Transylvania. The new sovereign sent forthwith a tribute to the Porte, in order to obtain the investiture of the state which he was unable to hold but of that court. Selim received his presents, and sent him by a chiau the mace of arms and the sword, the marks of his sovereignty. He forbade him to make an alliance with any Christian or other prince without the participation of his sovereign paramount. The grand seignior powerfully protected likewise another feudatory; for the remembrance of Solyman, and the discipline which that prince had established in his armies, rendered his successor formidable. From the middle of his haram he took or gave crowns at his will. Ivan, waywode of Moldavia, had ascended that throne by a revolution excited by the cruelties of his predecessor. Ivan, born a Moldavian, embraced Islamism at Constantinople. He soon

J.C. 1573.
 Heg. 981.

The way-
 wode of
 Transylva-
 nia sends to
 solicit his
 investiture
 at the
 Porte.

J.C. 1573.
Heg. 981.

Selim
wants to
exact a
double tri-
bute from
the way-
wode of
Moldavia,
whorefuses
it. War
with that
prince.
They de-
termine to
place the
brother of
the way-
wode of
Walachia
on the
throne of
Moldavia.

perceived that this apostasy, by procuring him the protection of the Turks, had alienated his subjects from him. As he had turned Mussulman to please the Turks, he returned to Christianity to regain the affection of the Moldavians. The grand seignior's ministers immediately claimed double tribute of Ivan, first, as waywode of Transylvania, secondly, as Christian. Ivan having refused to pay this exaction, the waywode of Walachia, his neighbour and enemy, offered the double tribute demanded by the Porte, if the grand seignior would give Moldavia to Peter, his brother, and troops to support his pretensions. Prior to the commencing of any hostility, Selim or his ministers sent a chiau to the waywode of Moldavia to summon him to pay forty thousand crowns instead of twenty thousand. The Moldavian haughtily replied, that he should employ that money to raise troops which should free his subjects from the vexation that the Porte wanted to exercise against them; and he ordered the chiau to retire, without making him the smallest present. The Moldavians raised several corps of Cossacks, warlike and indefatigable soldiers, accustomed to defend their country from the incursions of the barbarians. These succours, joined to ten thousand Moldavians, marched against Peter, the brother of the waywode of Walachia, and rival of Ivan, who had passed the Moldaw at the head of twenty thousand Turks and

and as many Walachians. Some historians make this army amount to more than a hundred thousand men against all probability, and even possibility. Be that as it may, the Cossacks and Moldavians cut to pieces an army much more considerable than theirs. Ivan entered Walachia. It was decided in the divan of Constantinople, that greater efforts were requisite to reduce this rebel. Ninety thousand men were sent to Walachia under the command of the beglerbeg Achmet. Ivan made incredible efforts to levy troops. His courage and liberality procured him more soldiers than Moldavia and Walachia together could properly furnish. When he had collected near fifty thousand men, he gave the command of thirteen thousand of them to one of his lieutenants, whom he believed his friend, and whose life he had saved in the last battle, conjuring him to defend the passage of the Danube in the place where the Turks would in all probability attempt it. The two Walachian princes, who knew Ivan's lieutenant better than his master did, offered him thirty thousand ducats to leave the passage of the river free, which he could very well defend; they required likewise that he should deceive his master in the number of men that they were bringing into Walachia. This perfidious wretch sent word to Ivan, that the Turks had passed the Danube before he had been able to reach the borders of the river; that as for the rest, their

J.C. 1573.
Heg. 981.

J.C. 1573.
Heg. 981.

army amounted to upwards of thirty thousand men of bad troops. Ivan, too confident, believed the man who was betraying him. He joined him; but he saw, when it was too late, that his perfidious lieutenant had drawn him into an ambuscade. To fight bravely was all he had to trust to. Ivan, surrounded on every side in a disadvantageous situation, did not despair of cutting his way through, at the head of his brave Cossacks and Moldavians, who loved him as much as they hated the Turks. He gave the signal for beginning the battle. To add to his misfortune, the action was no sooner begun, than his lieutenant deserted to the enemy with ten thousand men out of the thirteen thousand which he had commanded. It is true that the Turks, who thought only of taking advantage of this perfidy, contributed to punish it, for they forced this corps to begin the battle, as it was not yet united to the army to which it had deserted. The Moldavians cut all these traitors to pieces, without the Turks' making the least motion to sustain them. But as the Moldavians in their rage had attacked this troop of turn-coats with too much earnestness, the Turks attacked them in their turn when they saw them in disorder. The superiority of number soon decided this affair. It cost Ivan more than two thirds of his army to gain a mountain, on which he intrenched himself.

This

This brave prince, reduced to extremities, no longer thought but of the fate of those who had embraced his quarrel. He offered the beglerbeg to surrender himself, on condition of being conducted to Constantinople, where he should have his liberty and a pension proportionable to the dignity which he lost; that all his followers should be permitted to return to their homes, without any attempt's being made on their lives, liberties, or properties, and that the new waywode of Moldavia should grant a general amnesty for all the passed. These conditions were solemnly sworn to seven different times by the beglerbeg on the Alcoran and by his master's head; and by Peter, the new waywode, on the Gospel. Ivan immediately on this stripped himself of every thing valuable about him to bestow on the Cossack, Moldavian, and Walachian officers, who were around him, giving them even his sword and poinard set with diamonds. After having embraced them all, he left them with tears in his eyes. On his arrival at the Turkish camp, he was received at first with the attention promised him; but soon after a quarrel arose between the beglerbeg and Ivan. The Turkish general having laid his hand on his sword, those, who were around, massacred the waywode at his feet. The broken remains of his army were pursued. The Turks stripped and put in chains all the Cossacks and Moldavians that

J.C. 1573.
Heg. 981.

The waywode of Moldavia is beaten. He surrenders to the Turks.

He is massacred contrary to the faith of a treaty ratified by oath. His rival ascends the throne of Moldavia.

J.C. 1573. that they could take, and Peter was placed on the
Heg. 981. throne of Moldavia amidst the tears of the people who regretted Ivan.


During this revolution, too much more rapid ones happened in the kingdom of Tunis, and which were more advantageous to the Ottoman empire. The Tunisiens, oppressed by the Spaniards, and still more by their tributary king whom these last protected, implored the assistance of the Porte against Amida their tyrant, son of Muley Hascen. This monster had put his father and several brothers to death, in order to usurp the throne of Tunis. As he governed with a rod of iron, not sparing his subjects more than his own family, the people complained to the divan, which seized this occasion of extending its power in a Mahometan country not yet brought under its authority. Otchiali sailed thither with his fleet, and took the Goletta by surprise. Amida, as timid as cruel, fled from Tunis as soon as he knew that the enemy was master of his strongest rampart. Otchiali set up without opposition another king in this state, whom history does not name. The Turkish fleet continued but a short time in this sea. As soon as it had sailed to ravage other coasts, Don John of Austria, who served his master better than the Venetians, sailed towards Tunis with a fleet of a hundred and fifty vessels belonging for the most part to Spain, and some of them to the pope, the Florentines, and the

Amida,
king of
Tunis, is
driven
from his
throne.

the Order of Malta. Though the Goletta might be considered as one of the strongest places on any coast, the Spaniards recovered it with as much ease as they had lost it; they entered Biserta and Tunis likewise, without much bloodshed, and put in chains the king whom Otchiali had placed on the throne. Amida hastened to reclaim the heritage which he had acquired only by parricide; but the horror with which he inspired the Tunisiens was such, that Don John did not dare restore him his crown. He chose rather to give these people a king of twelve years old, younger brother of Amida, whom this monster had spared, because he did not think he had any thing to fear from him. Several have thought that Don John intended this throne for himself; that he flattered himself with obtaining the consent of his brother Philip II. and the pope, of whom it was still believed in this age that all the kingdoms ought to be held; and that it was for this reason he placed on the throne of this petty kingdom a child whom it would be easier to pull down than an African corsair. Amida embarked for Sicily with his family, where it is said he turned Christian. Don John, in order to assure himself of Tunis, built a fort of six bastions between that town and the Goletta. He left in the two places six thousand infantry, Spaniards or Italians, and gave the command of these troops to count Sarbelloni. Thus the Moors of Tunis were really

J.C. 1573.
Heg. 981.

Don John
of Austria
reduces the
Tunisians,
and gives
them an in-
fant king.

J.C. 1573. really under Don John, though they were left
 Heg. 981.  a phantom of a king.

J.C. 1574. The example of the Moors of Granada could
 Heg. 982. not but make them dread the yoke of the Spa-
 The Tuni- niards. Several of them had fled from that king-
 sians solicit dom, and it was with horror only that they re-
 succours called to mind what their fathers and themselves
 from the had suffered in Granada and the Alpuxares. The
 Porte. love of their religion and of repose made them
 wish to become a province of Turkey. Several
 brigantines, dispatched from the port of Tunis,
 went to Constantinople to make proposals. The
 grand vizier, Mehemet, who had seen this state
 change masters twice in so short a time, thought
 it would be easy to acquire a lasting possession of
 it, if the people sided with his master. He would
 fain be certain that the Venetians would remain
 in peace during this new quarrel. He sent a
 Jew, called Rabbi Solomon, as ambassador to the
 senate, to represent to them, that the republic
 ought to be as dissatisfied as the Porte with its
 pretended ally, Philip II.; that this prince, who
 had constantly betrayed them throughout the pre-
 ceding war, was as much the enemy of the Vene-
 tians as the Turks; that the grand seignior
 proposed to the republic to unite their forces
 against Philip, to recover what had belonged on
 the coasts to each of these two powers. The se-
 nate replied that, though they were much obliged
 to the sultan for his offers, they could not think
 of

of undertaking a war, without a cause, against an ancient ally, and that they would continue to observe towards both powers engaged in war the terms of a profound peace and of an exact neutrality. This was all that Mehemet wanted. He immediately began to think seriously of getting possession of Tunis, and he chose for this expedition Sinan bashaw, to whom he gave the command of forty thousand men embarked on board a hundred galleys commanded by Otchiali. The six thousand Spaniards left by Don John, in the Goletta, in the new fort, and in Tunis, could not resist such a powerful army, especially as the natives had declared against them.

As soon as the Ottoman fleet appeared in sight, the young king wanted to send African troops to the Goletta to reinforce the garrison; but he soon perceived that he had no other resource than in a speedy flight. To add to the disgrace, a misunderstanding happened among the Spanish officers. Portocarrero, who commanded in the Goletta, refused to receive orders from count Sarbelloni, who had been appointed commander in chief. Notwithstanding this misunderstanding, both made a gallant defence, the one in the Goletta and the other in the new fort. After having lost almost all their soldiers, both were wounded and taken, and both died of their wounds.

Sinan, conqueror of Tunis, declared himself bashaw of it for Selim his master; but as all the

J.C. 1574.
Heg. 982.

Sinan ba-
shaw esta-
blishes a
republic at
Tunis.

inhabitants of the coast of Africa love their liberty, and he had interest to please these people who within so short a time had thrown off the yoke of different masters, the Turkish commander resolved to found at Tunis a republic, which should govern under the eyes of a bashaw and the protection of the emperor. He established a divan; officers whose power and exercise were to last but a limited time; franchises and duties which the people were to gather by their own agent, out of which they were to pay the emperor fixed sums; and a well disciplined, numerous, and permanent garrison, in order to secure this new republic from a surprise. It was singular to see a minister who was a slave, and who had grown old under the rod of despotism, conceive republican ideas, and put them in execution; and what is still more extraordinary, these laws were adopted by the divan of Constantinople. The state of Tunis continues at this day to be governed in the same manner, with only some variations produced by revolutions.

Though there were as many great achievements performed in Selim's reign as in those of his predecessors, yet they regarded the emperor no more than having passed whilst he was inebriating himself with his favorites or forgetting himself with his women. His grand vizier, Mehemet, who had possessed himself of the sovereign power, and who had found but few obstacles in
the

the divan, without appearing himself at the head of the troops, had employed them usefully for the glory of the empire. In the middle of this prosperity, Selim was attacked by a severe illness, caused by his intemperance and debaucheries, which carried him off in the fifty-second year of his age, in the month of December 1574, after a reign of eight years and some months. The grand vizier, Mehemet, concealed the emperor's death, as he had done that of Solyman his father, in order to give Amurath III. his son and successor, time to arrive from Amasia where he resided.

J.C. 1574.
Heg. 982.

Death of
Selim.

A M U R A T H III.

TWELFTH REIGN.

J.C. 1575.
Heg. 982,
& 983.

AMURATH was thirty-one years old when he began to reign: he arrived at Constantinople in the middle of the night. His impatience had made him pass the straits of Gallipoli in the dark, though the sea was at that time much agitated. This was the only danger he would ever run during his whole reign. On his arrival at the door of the seraglio, it was with difficulty he could procure it to be opened; having at length discovered himself to the bostangi pachi,

Amurath
ascends the
throne.
He has his
brothers
and the
assakys
whom Se-
lim had
left with
child put
to death.

J.C. 1575.
Heg. 982,
& 983.

the latter ran to inform the grand vizier, Mehemet, of it, who, not knowing his master's son, came to receive him, and conducted him with great respect into the sultaneſs-mother or valid's apartment, whose name hiſtory does not mention. Mehemet having aſked the ſultaneſs if this was prince Amurath; on the teſtimony of his mother, the grand vizier proſtrated himſelf at his feet, and, raiſing his hands to Heaven, he offered up prayers for the proſperity of his reign. All the officers of the ſeraglio crowded to pay their reſpects, or rather adore, their ſultan. Selim's death was publiſhed as ſoon as the ſun appeared. The ſame day was employed in burying the emperor and proclaiming his ſucceſſor; but this day was ſtained by a crime which the Turks have termed an act of policy, and which the chief of their religion was not aſhamed to authoriſe. The muſti, being conſulted on what was proper to be done with the five princes ſprung from the blood of Selim, the oldeſt of whom was not eight years of age, decided, conformably to the wiſhes of the new emperor, that it was right to put them to death, leſt they ſhould one day trouble their brother's reign. This cruel ſentence was executed under Amurath's eyes, and in preſence of the ſultaneſs-mothers, in order that they might not be able to doubt of their no longer having ſons. One of them ſtabbed herſelf with a poniard when ſhe ſaw him ſtrangled whom ſhe had brought
into

into the world. Amurath, not satisfied with all these cruelties, ordered two affakys,* whom his father had left with child, to be thrown into the sea, and he confined to the old seraglio the four remaining sultaneſſes, and all the odaliſks that had lived with the laſt emperor.

J.C. 1575.
Heg. 982,
& 983.

A Venetian lady, whom he paſſionately loved, was, for a long time, the only ſultaneſs. During the firſt years of the reign of Amurath III. not one odaliſk ſhared the bed, or even the ſociety of the ſultan.

He was not ſo conſtant in his confidence to his miniſters. He ſcarcely uſed his authority but to change them often. As he was thoroughly incapable of buſineſs, he contributed as much as his predecessor to render the authority of the grand viziers abſolute. But his policy made him find his ſecurity in depoſing them often and on trifling occaſions. He found motives for depoſing them by making uſe of the only mean which the Ottoman emperors have in their power to know their ſubjects, from whom they are too much ſeparated by the eaſtern manners.

One day, as he was walking diſguiſed in a market of Conſtantinople, he met a man who complained loudly, curſing the kiaia, or grand vizier's,

Rencoun-
ter he
has in a
market.

* They call affakys the women who live with the emperor, and to whom he has aſſigned particular apartments in the haram; and odaliſks thoſe who ſleep in the odas or common rooms. The ſultaneſſes are but four in number; they muſt have had children by the emperor to enjoy that title.

J.C. 1575. vizier's lieutenant,* one of whose most important
 Heg. 982,
 & 983.

Conver-
 sation of the
 emperor
 with a
 cook of
 the janis-
 saries.

functions is to provision the city. The emperor, having approached this man, asked what made him angry, with an air so interested, that it prevailed on the Turk to answer him: "You are not able," says he, "to alleviate my chagrin or prevent my having to day fifty bastinades on the soles of my feet, which I certainly have not merited. I am the cook of an oda of janissaries, and I come here every day to buy what is necessary for my division; though it is very early, I find almost every thing gone, and what remains is so dear that I have not found enough to serve all my people. The kiaia puts such an impost on the things, that there is not brought to the market the half of what is necessary in order to have a plenty, and that the janissaries may live on what the emperor gives them. The great men enrich themselves whilst we are dying with hunger, and we are besides beaten for their knavery." The sequel of the conversation convinced the emperor that there were really misdemeanors in the provisioning of Constantinople, and that the man who had unveiled them to him was full of good sense. Amurath, on his return to the seraglio, sent for this cook, whose name he had taken

* This lieutenant is not the next in rank to the grand vizier; he is not even a bashaw; this officer is a substitute who has authority, and who assists the minister in several of his functions.'

taken care to learn ; he was called Ferhad. This man, astonished at being called before the emperor, was still much more so when he perceived on the throne, to which he scarcely durst raise his eyes, the very same person to whom he had talked so familiarly hardly two hours before. The emperor ordered these abuses to be put a stop to ; the kiaia was deposed, and Ferhad was taken into the service of the seraglio. We shall see him in the sequel govern the empire.

J.C. 1575.
Heg. 982,
& 983.

During the first months, the sultan received congratulations from all the crowned heads that had ambassadors at Constantinople. Persia sent a minister extraordinary, on purpose to compliment the new monarch. The two crowns displayed on this occasion all the pomp which was thought necessary on both sides, to give an advantageous idea whether of the Persians or the Turks. The ambassador's retinue was numerous and brilliant. The emperor, after having given him audience in open divan, left Constantinople under pretence of taking the pleasure of the chase for some days ; but his real design was to display, on his return, the splendour of his retinue to the eyes of the Persian ambassador. When the sultans have been absent from Constantinople, only a week, they return surrounded with a triumphal pomp. The number of the bashaws, agas, officers of the seraglio, bostangis, spahis, capiggis,* and

He receives several ambassadors.

* A sort of Porters or Door-keepers ; Bailiffs. T.

J.C. 1775.
Heg. 982,
& 983. and janissaries; the magnificence of their dress, the lustre of their arms, and the beauty of the horses, offer the most superb spectacle, and give foreigners the highest idea of the forces of a state, the capital alone of which contains so much riches, and such high-spirited and numerous troops. Amurath did not limit himself to displaying this pomp to the eyes of the ambassadors. Without declaring war against any power, he fitted out a formidable fleet in the port of Constantinople. The facility with which the vessels grew up, as one may say, under the hands of the shipwrights, astonished as much as the number of troops spread over the city. Every thing at Constantinople presented the image of war. It seemed as if the Turks were made for fighting, as other men for cultivating the land on which they are born.

Europe was at that time taken up with an affair which interested the Turks as much as the princes of Christendom. The death of Charles IX. called his brother, Henry of Valois, king of Poland, to the crown of France, greatly preferable in every respect to that of an elective kingdom, where the monarch, to speak properly, is nothing more than the first magistrate of a republic exposed continually to anarchy by the vices of its constitution. The secret flight of Henry from a people who had pretended to guard their king as a state prisoner, restored them the right of election.

election. The wisest of the Poles were sensible of the necessity of their republic's having a monarch who should be sufficiently strong by himself to protect them against Germany, Russia, or Turkey. Others, less provident, desirous of that glory which would reflect on the Polish nobility, if one of them possessed the throne of his country, wanted to have a Polish noble for king; but this party was unable to prevail. Maximilian of Austria, emperor of the West, had already persuaded the major part of the nobles called to the diet, that no one could better defend them from the usurpations of the Germans than the emperor of Germany, and that no one would protect them better against the other powers. This prince was on the point of uniting all the suffrages in his favor, when Amurath, persuaded by his ministers how much it concerned him to divide the Christians, wrote to the Polish diet that he would never suffer the crown of Poland to be united to the imperial crown of the West; that it was not the interest of the republic to become a province of Germany, which would infallibly be the case, if they permitted the house of Austria to get possession of the crown; that he recommended to the diet Stephen Battori, prince of Transylvania, worthy by his personal qualities to become their sovereign. The suffrage of such a power as the Turk was of great weight in the diet. It was there decided, that the princess Anne, daughter

J.C. 1575.
Heg. 982,
& 983.

He opposes
the elec-
tion of
Maximi-
lian to the
throne of
Poland.

J.C. 1575, of Sigismund Augustus, the last king of the Jagellon family, should marry Stephen Battori, waywode of Transylvania, and that this prince should be declared king of Poland. Thus, Amurath endeavoured to found his tranquility in Europe on the dissensions of his neighbours. He had conceived the project of going to war with Persia. The remembrance of so many unfortunate expeditions could not divert him from it. The Ottomans did not conceive there could be any other glory than that of conquests.

What the
forces of
Persia are,

The prejudice of Islamism made Amurath much more inveterate against the schismatic Persian: Mussulmen than against the Christians. The Persian war, at the first view, seemed to promise to be advantageous for the Ottomans. The sopheri is not so powerful as the grand seignior either in men or money. He has more feudatory or allied troops than regulars in his pay. The Georgians, Armenians, and Afghans, owe a certain service during a limited time. The chiefs march at the head of their vassals, and retire when their obligation is fulfilled. They condemn in Persia that blind obedience which composes the essence of the Ottoman empire. Towards the end of the sixteenth century, the Persians were very little acquainted with the use of artillery; they did not know how to found cannon, and had procured but few from the Christian powers that had armed them against the Turks; they had likewise hardly

any

any infantry. All their strength consisted in bravery and the exact discipline of a numerous cavalry, well mounted and exercised. Though the inner part of Persia is very fertile, the people make but little money of the productions of the earth or their industry, as the grand seignior, in order to prevent the enriching of his enemies, prohibits his subjects from trading with them, except by way of exchange. Thus, the levying of troops, the paying and provisioning of them, are more difficult with the Persians than with any other oriental people. Notwithstanding all these disadvantages, we have thus far seen, that war has always been fatal to the Ottomans against this nation, which possesses well the art of defence, and opposes, to numerous armies, a burning climate and arid deserts, more difficult to penetrate than the best fortified places.

J.C. 1575.
Heg. 982,
& 983.

Amurath thought he had found a favorable moment for attacking the Persians. The sopher, Shah Abbas, who had for so long a time made war with the Turks, had had three sons. As he had suspected the eldest of having an inclination for the sect of Omar, and that the second, loaded with infirmities, did not appear to him proper to reign over a great people, he had chosen the youngest for his successor; and in order to have his intention executed, he had proclaimed in his life time Chaidar king of Persia (that was the name of this third son), and had given him a

J.C. 1476.
Heg. 984.
War with
Persia.

J.C. 1576.
Heg. 984.
share in the government. Ishmael, the eldest of the three, designed by nature and right to inherit the throne, was shut up in a castle. The old sophi was greatly respected: whilst he lived, every thing remained quiet; but at his death, the lawful prince came out of prison; he attacked the usurper, vanquished him, had him strangled, and ascended the throne. It was true that Ishmael favored the sect of Omar. The persecutions and injustice of his father not having changed his sentiments, a religious war broke out in Persia at his accession, more furious than ever. The party of the reigning king should seemingly have been the strongest; but the zealous disciples of Ali found means to destroy their king for the interest of their faith. His own sister gave him poison; and Codabonda, the only remaining son of Shah Abbas, a good disciple of Ali, though very incapable of governing, found himself master of the throne. All these revolutions had cost a great deal of blood. Persia was weakened, and the vengeance of Ishmael, who had died a martyr to the sect of Omar, was an excellent pretext for the Ottoman monarch. An inspired iman came to tell the emperor, that he had seen in his sleep the following inscription in letters of fire: *Amurath, conqueror of Persia*. In vain did the grand vizier, Mehemet, repeat continually in the divan that a war against Persia would be always useless to the empire, and might become fatal to it: the old vizier

vizier had not the same influence over Amurath <sup>J.C. 1576.
Heg. 984.</sup> as he had had over Selim. War was not only declared, contrary to his will, but Mehemet had besides the mortification of seeing the command of this expedition given to that cruel Mustapha, the conqueror of Cyprus, his personal enemy, whom he had caused to be disgraced in the reign of Selim, immediately after his return from Cyprus, and whom Amurath had recalled to his court.

This general left Constantinople at the head of the janissaries. Mustapha found on his march a hundred and fifty thousand men which his army was to be composed of. The Persians, less numerous, were beaten and put to flight. Mustapha, elated with this success, passed the river Kur, took the province of Shirvan almost without striking a blow, and then distributed his men in quarters on the entrance of a severe winter, during which the Persians attacked in their turn all his dispersed troops, cut his garrisons to pieces, and recovered their province. Mustapha, confused, was ordered to return to Constantinople to give an account of his conduct. He was made a mazul* on his arrival. He would perhaps have paid dearer for the ill success of his arms; but the grand vizier Mehemet was dead,

and

* They term being made a mazul, when a bashaw, or superior officer, is turned out of his place and reduced to the state of a private citizen. It often happens in Turkey that a person is reduced to an inferior employ, but then that person is not made a mazul.

J.C. 1576.
Heg. 984. and his successor would not make use of a severity which might one day be turned against himself. In fact, not one of those who commanded after Mustapha in this unfortunate war, and there were a great many of them, succeeded better than he.

J.C. 1577,
1578,
& 1579. The following campaign, Asman, aga of the janissaries, commanded the Turks. Abdel Cherai, Heg. 985,
986,
& 987. khan of the Tartars, was desirous of clearing the roads at the head of forty thousand men. He even took several towns; but the Persians, constant in their manner of defending themselves, let the enemy get into the deserts, and waited to attack them when the army should be discouraged with fatigue and hunger. Then Zalembriza, the eldest son of the king of Persia, charged them to advantage, and beat the Turks and Tartars united, though the vanquished were at least two to one. The khan of the Tartars was made prisoner in this battle, and the sophi ordered him to be sent to Casbin, where he resided. The captive, Abdel Cherai, was still formidable to the Persians, as the Crimea furnished a great many soldiers which the sophi feared more than the Turks, the climate of Persia not being so fatal to them as to the latter. Codabonda would have formed an alliance with the khan of the Tartars; the circumstance of his being a prisoner promised to facilitate this treaty. The captive prince was received by his vanquisher, as if he had been vanquisher himself. The sophi meditated to make him

The khan of the Tartars is made prisoner by the Persians, and conducted to the court of the sophi.

him marry his daughter, and he prepared this alliance amidst plays and festivals, at which the monarch's wives and daughters were present. The manners of the Persians were not then so austere as those of the other Mussulmen, nor as they are become since. The women enjoyed at Casbin a liberty that would have passed for very criminal at Constantinople, where it has always been believed, since the reign of the Ottomans, that an excessive restraint is the only way to secure the virtue of the sex. One of the king of Persia's wives pleased the Tartar much better than the princess intended for him; without respecting the laws of hospitality, he soon found means to seduce her. Some courtiers, jealous of their master's honor, or rather of the favor of Abdel Cherai, informed the sophi of what was going forward, who surprised his spouse and his prisoner in the moment when they were both injuring him in the most sensible manner. He revenged himself in their blood. §

J.C. 1577.
1578.
& 1579.
Heg. 985.
986.
& 1587.

He does him a sensible injury, which is punished with death.

These news reached Constantinople whilst an ambassador sent thither by the sophi was treating of peace. The new grand vizier, Sinan bashaw, who wished to enjoy peaceably the new dignity which he had just obtained, reminded his master of the difficulties of the Persian war. But Amurath,

§ It is said, that, since this affair, the Persians are become much more strict with regard to the liberty of their wives and slaves, and that they, in this respect, out-do the Turks.

J.C. 1577,
 1578,
 & 1579.
 Heg. 985,
 986,
 & 987.
 { rath, to whom this war cost nothing but men,
 whom he did not know how to value, and money,
 which he thought his treasury was inexhaustible
 of, decided that it would not be consistent with
 the dignity of the Porte to make peace with a
 prince who had just massacred its first feudatory.
 The Persian ambassador was sent back without a
 hearing, and the grand vizier was ordered to
 continue the war. Since the loss of that battle
 wherein the khan of the Tartars was made prisoner,
 the Turks had been again obliged to fall
 back, after having lost almost all the places which
 Abdel Cherai had taken. The Ottoman army
 was so considerably diminished, that the Turks
 were as inferior in number as in courage; for,
 these soldiers, so formidable against all the other
 powers, had no sooner entered the deserts of Persia,
 than their strength seemed to desert them.

Asman had taken up his quarters at Erzerum.
 He drew recruits from all the sangiacates of
 Asia; employed in recruiting his forces the time
 prescribed him by the emperor for making new
 conquests. He was moreover afraid of experiencing
 from the troops the resistance and revolt to which
 discouragement gives birth. All this summer was
 taken up in marches and counter-marches on the
 confines of Persia, which at length determined
 Amurath to recall him, as the latter had always
 desired. One Achmet bashaw was sent to replace
 Asman, and did no better than his predecessors.

predecessors. We shall dispense with the particulars of this war, which lasted twelve years. Their uniformity would only fatigue the reader. It will be sufficient to say, that Amurath, obstinate and inconstant, changed his generals almost every campaign, who were all equally unfortunate; that Achmet was succeeded by Ferhad, the cook to the janissaries whom Amurath had formerly met in a market; Ferhad by Siaus; Siaus by Ibrahim; Ibrahim by Ali; that all of them remained in the Shirvan, taking and losing by turns some paltry places, and keeping at as great a distance as possible from the Persian army, which always kept on the defensive in hopes to ruin the enemy.

J.C. 1580.
Heg. 988.

J.C. 1581,
1582,
1583,
& 1584.
Heg. 989,
990,
991,
& 992.

Notwithstanding the inactivity of this war, it cost a prodigious number of men and a great deal of money. The intemperature of the climate, and the perpetual marches which the generals made, more to avoid than to seek the enemy, brought on diseases, which became contagious. One day Amurath complained to Sinan of the little success of his arms and the continual losses which he met with in Persia, when all his ancestors had made so many conquests. The grand vizier had the boldness to tell his master, that the preceding emperors had appeared themselves at the head of the janissaries, and that their success had been the reward of their valour. Such a direct reproach penetrated the monarch

Ill success
of the war.

J.C. 1581, with shame and transported him with rage. The
 1582, **chagrin** which he discovered emboldened the va-
 1583, lid sultaneſs and the favorite to ſpeak againſt the
 & 1584. grand vizier. They repreſented to the monarch,
 Heg. 989, that Sinan had ſome private reaſon for wiſhing to
 990, get him away from his capital. The young
 991, prince, Mahomet, his eldeſt ſon, had juſt been
 & 992. circumciſed, for whom Sinan expreſſed a con-
 cern, which it was no way difficult to render
 ſuſpected. The diſtruſtful Amurath made his
 grand vizier a mazul; he would not take his life
 from him. It is remarked that this emperor
 never ſhed any other blood than his brother's.
 Ferhad, the cook, ſucceeded Sinan as grand
 vizier, who retired to an iſland in the Archipelago
 to regret the firſt dignity of the empire, and the
 beſt part of his property, which his indiſcreet
 freedom had coſt him.

Sinan is
 depoſed.

Amurath
 gives him-
 ſelf up to
 debauch-
 ery.

Thus far the ſultan had been conſtant to the
 fair Venetian whom he loved before his acceſſion
 to the throne; but, ſince the bad ſucceſs of his
 arms againſt the Perſians, he ſought relief for his
 trouble in debauchery. Amurath would often
 admit three odaliſks to his bed in the courſe
 of one night. The law of Mahomet forbids to
 change women without bathing one's ſelf. The
 ſuperſtitious emperor took care not to neglect
 this practice. Theſe frequent bathings brought
 on weakneſſes, for which he cauſed himſelf to be
 ordered to drink wine, which 'till then he had

conſidered

considered as an unpardonable crime. The quantity which he took of this liquor having debilitated his nervous system, Amurath would often get drunk; and then his viziers would abuse the power, which they did not expect to enjoy a long time. Never were there more depredations than under this reign. The Persian war and the changing of viziers drained the public treasury, and rendered the augmentation of the imposts on the consumption necessary. The frequent revolts of the janissaries on their pay being kept back, and even of the people, who were made support the weight of a bad administration, obliged the grand seignior to remain like a prisoner within the walls of his seraglio, the entrance of which his guard could scarcely defend. In one of these commotions, caused by the dregs of the people, a crowd of armed men broke open the outer gate of the seraglio, and having entered without precaution into the outer court, loudly demanded the head of the desterdar, or keeper of the public treasure. This officer, charged with collecting the imposts, was not the author of the edicts which had ordered them, still less of the depredations which had made them necessary; but the people, seeing only the desterdar, imputed all their calamities to him alone. The emperor, frightened, promised every thing they would have. As soon as they had procured the order against the desterdar, the populace dispersed with

J.C. 1582.
1582.
1583.
& 1584.
Heg. 989.
990,
991,
& 992.

Disorders
in the go-
vernment.

J.C. 1581, as much readiness as they had gathered together.
 1582,
 1583, The grand vizier, Ferhad, possessed of more cool-
 & 1584.
 Heg. 989, nefs than his master, comprehended better than
 990,
 991, he the consequences that this want of resolution
 & 982.
 might produce.

The grand
 vizier Fer-
 had is made
 a mazul.

He sent the keeper of the public treasury out of the way, and, some days after, had several of the authors of this sedition put to death. This conduct drew on Ferhad the displeasure of the prince whose authority he had supported. He was made a mazul. Asman, lately arrived from the frontiers of Persia, to inform the sultan of the state of his army, received the seals taken from the minister who had used them so well.

The new vizier informed his master that no dependance could be placed on the new khan of the Tartars, who, though the ally and tributary of the Ottoman empire, really served the murderer of his father, against whom he would fain appear armed; that the younger brother of this prince, full of the resentment with which nature ought to inspire him against the king of Persia, was ready to embrace the quarrel of the Ottomans; that he ardently wished to bring the Tartars against the common enemy, and that he solicited the succour of the Turks against his unnatural brother, to revenge at once his father and sovereign paramount. Amurath ordered his vizier to dethrone the khan of the Tartars, in order to continue the Persian war, assisted by the forces

forces of him whom he should place at the head of that warlike nation. Isban (that was the name of the Tartarian prince who solicited the assistance of the Porte) arrived at Constantinople when Asman was on the point of leaving it. The emperor ordered great honors to be paid him whom he already considered as his premier vassal, after which he sent him back at the head of some troops, to wrest the sovereignty from his brother Alpegira, the eldest of the family of the khans. Amurath had the astrologers consulted prior to the departure of prince Isban : the superstitious emperor pretended, that the Persian war had been so unfortunate, only because the enterprises had always been begun on unlucky days. The event might well have confirmed him in this error ; for the grand vizier having entered the capital of Crimea the day which Amurath had dictated to him, he had the good fortune to find, in the family of Alpegira and among his most zealous partisans, a division which the grand vizier and Isban so well took their advantages of, that in a little time Alpegira's troops deserted him ; he himself fled in disguise, and Isban had only to shew his gratitude to those who had placed him on the throne of Crimea, by attacking the Persians in conjunction with them. The new khan and the grand vizier began their march together to go and besiege Tauris ; but Asman was killed in attacking the place, and the Turks immediately decamped.

J.C. 1581,
1582,
1583,
& 1584.
Heg. 989,
990,
991,
& 992.

The khan
of the Tar-
tars is de-
posed.

The

J.C. 1581, The Turkish general was replaced by Ferhad the
 1582, cook, who, as we have seen, from grand vizier
 1583, had been made a mazul, and had been re-made a
 & 1584. bashaw a little time after, without doubt because
 Heg. 989, his abilities were found necessary. He was sent
 990, to Persia in quality of beglerbeg, and the seals of
 991, the empire were given, for the second time, to
 & 992. the old grand vizier Sinan. This last drew con-
 Sinan and siderable sums from the Christians, under the
 Ferhad, specious pretence of protecting their commerce.
 formerly
 grand vi-
 ziers, re-
 enter the
 ministry.

J.C. 1585, It is well known that the Christian ambassadors
 1586, at Constantinople, not only manage their masters'
 1587, interests there, but are besides natural protectors
 1588, of all the Franks, who flock to this capital and all
 & 1589. the sea-ports of the Levant, to seize the different
 Heg. 993, branches of commerce, which the Turks have
 994, neither the activity nor industry to exercise. It
 995, is the ambassador who demands the execution
 996, of the treaties made with his nation, and it is he
 & 997. who stipulates for the interests of the merchant,
 his countryman, before the grand vizier, or be-
 fore the other officers from whom he is to receive
 justice. For a long time France and the republic
 of Venice had each kept an ambassador at the
 Porte. All the other Franks had hitherto had
 recourse to these two, when they wanted protec-
 tion ; but the king of England and the senate of
 Genoa thought, that it was neither compatible
 with their prudence nor dignity to leave the inte-
 rests of their subjects in the hands of foreign mi-
 nisters

nifters often enemies. They would each have an
 ambaffador at the Turkish court. This innova-
 tion, which the grand vizier, Sinan, liftened to in
 appearance for the intereft of the Englifh and
 Genoefe, was at firft very burdensome to them.
 They were obliged to furnifh prefents for the
 grand feignior, his vizier, his wives, the caima-
 can, and the intendant of the cuftoms. The
 Turks will do nothing without being paid for it,
 and they fupply by rapacity their want of indus-
 try. Sinan, who had been a witnefs of the laft
 revolt on account of the doubling of the impofts,
 and who had feen Ferhad fall a victim to his
 mafter's weaknefs, durft not put the capital to
 that trial. However great the neceffities of the
 ftate might be, he chofe rather to lay the impofts
 on the diftant provinces in which the poffeffors
 of timars had the greateft intereft to maintain or-
 der. Natolia, Caramania, and all the fangiacates
 from Burfa to Trebizond, were loaded with new
 taxes. Money was demanded from the people
 continually and without meafure. The emperor
 found in the Perfian war, not only the means of
 keeping at a diftance the foldiery, always dan-
 gerous at Conftantinople, but likewise a pretext
 for drawing money from his fubjects, which he
 loved ever fince he had found the want of it.
 But this bloody and expenfive war was infuffi-
 cient; the avidity, or rather pride of Amurath,
 drew him into another with the European powers.

J.C. 1585.
 1586,
 1587,
 1588,
 & 1589.
 Heg. 993,
 994,
 995,
 996,
 & 997.

Sinan
 draws pre-
 fents from
 the Englifh
 & Genoefe,
 & impofts
 from all
 the provin-
 ces of Affia.

Rodolph,

J.C. 1585, Rodolph, the son and successor of Maximilian
 1586, in the western empire and in the kingdom of
 1587, Hungary, sent an ambassador to the Porte to set-
 1588, & 1589. tle some limits. We have said that the French
 Heg. 993, had freed themselves from the custom of carrying
 994, presents to the sultan, lest he should consider as a
 995, tribute due to his sceptre, what 'till then had
 996, been nothing more than a mark of good will.
 & 977. The emperor of the West likewise fancied that
 he ought no longer to submit to this mortifying
 subjection. Rodolph's ambassador, not having
 offered Amurath any presents, was committed to
 prison. The Turks were obstinately resolved to
 consider Hungary as feudatory, because the
 kings of the house of Zapoli had declared them-
 selves such, and Maximilian himself, though em-
 peror of the West, had sent presents when he con-
 cluded a truce. Rodolph might have replied,
 that his father, weakened by a long war, had then
 received law from the vanquisher; but that the
 Ottomans had not demanded presents on the re-
 newal of the same truce in 1584. But the Aus-
 trian monarch, without entering into a discussion
 with these infringers of treaties and the law of
 nations, sent troops into the territory of Sigeth.
 A nephew of Amurath's, who commanded in Si-
 geth, was killed in a skirmish. The sultan or-
 dered Siaus, become again bashaw after having
 been made a mazul, to go and ravage Hungary
 by way of reprisal. Rodolph assembled the diet

in

Amurath
 attempts to
 exact pre-
 sents from
 Rodolph,
 emperor
 of the
 West, who
 declares
 war against
 him.

in order to procure succours. These people, who J.C. 1585,
 had enjoyed a peace for several years, did not 1586,
 refuse to try their strength with the Turks. They 1587,
 granted their master troops and money. All 1588,
 these motions determined Amurath to conclude a & 1589.
 peace with Persia. The sophi desired it still more Heg. 993,
 than he. Usbec, king of Asiatic Tartary, threa- 994,
 tened Persia; Codabonda, who was greatly afraid 995,
 of being attacked by two such powerful enemies 996,
 at once, resolved to give up the Shirvan to the & 997.
 Ottoman emperor. This province, separated
 from all the others by an extent of sandy, dry land,
 was not worth to the Persian monarch what it
 cost him to defend it whenever he was at war with
 the Turks. The sophi sent to Constantinople a
 prince, the son of Eviza his eldest son, accom-
 panied by four ministers who were to settle
 the peace. Prince Eviza had died about three
 years before. His only son, a child, was less
 dear to his grand-father than the younger bro-
 thers of Eviza, who were all in a state to com-
 mand armies. The historians have pretended
 that the king of Persia exposed his grand-son to
 the eyes of the Ottomans, less to augment the
 pomp of this famous embassy and to give an il-
 lustrious hostage to the prince whose alliance he
 desired, than to send out of the way this shoot
 from the elder branch, whose rights might injure
 those of his younger sons. Be that as it may,
 the young prince was received with great honors,

Peace with
Persia.

The sophi
sends his
grand-son,
a child, to
Constan-
tinople.

J.C. 1585, in all the towns of the Ottoman dominions. He
 1586, was attended by a numerous guard, and his ex-
 1587, pences freed throughout, as well as those of his
 1588, retinue. More than a hundred galleys then in
 & 1589. the port of Constantinople rowed towards Scutari,
 Heg. 993, and saluted the prince with a discharge of all their
 994, artillery prior to his being received into the
 995, admiral galley. Ferhad bashaw, the general of
 996, the army, accompanied the Persian prince, who
 & 997. was received at the grand seignior's audience
 with honors 'till then unknown at the Porte.
 The prince sat near the monarch's throne; and
 in the divan, where he was admitted, he took his
 seat immediately below the grand vizier, who
 presided at the assembly. It is well known that
 the grand seignior is never present at the divan
 but behind a curtain; and consequently the mi-
 nisters who transact business in this assembly are
 ignorant if it be in presence of their master, and
 if he hear or not what they propose or decide on
 the affairs of the state. The four Persian satraps
 who accompanied their master's grand-son, were
 treated as ambassadors generally are. After the
 reception of the presents, which the sopher and the
 Ottoman emperor make one another in every
 embassy, without either of the two crowns' pre-
 tending from thence to a superiority over the
 other, it was agreed that the Shirvan should be
 ceded to the Ottoman empire, and immediately
 thereon that province was divided into timars,
 which

which were given to those who had supported the weight of this war, according to the rank which they had enjoyed, and the services that they had performed; but this division excited altercations between the bashaws. The grand vizier was opposed by Ferhad bashaw, who had been himself grand vizier, and who, having lately commanded the army in Persia, thought he ought to be a better judge of each officer's merit than the grand vizier Sinan. The latter, who thought he had rendered his master important services, by filling the public treasury, which he found empty on his coming into office, treated Ferhad with that superiority which the dignity of prime minister gave him, and that his favor seemed to authorise; but, by the natural inconstancy of the prince, Sinan bashaw, who had been grand vizier several years, must necessarily fall: he was made a mazul, notwithstanding the many circumstances that seemed to favor him, and his opponent Ferhad, to whom this same misfortune had happened some years before, recovered the seals by a caprice, just as he had lost them.

The new vizier ordered fortresses to be built in the Shirvan to keep the Georgians in order, a neighbouring people, more attached to the Persians than to the Turks, who, in the last war, had served the sophi openly. The grand-son of this prince died at Constantinople a little while after his arrival. It is said that he was poisoned by

J.C. 1585,
1586,
1587,
1588,
& 1589,
Heg. 993,
994,
995,
996,
& 997.

J.C. 1590,
1591,
& 1592,
Heg. 998,
999,
& 1000.

Sinan is de-
posed; and
Ferhad,
the cook,
succeeds
him as
grand vi-
zior.

Death of
the little
Persian
prince.

J.C. 1590, the Persians themselves, who were afraid lest the
 1591, Turks should one day make use of this child to
 & 1592, excite a civil war in the empire of the sophi.
 Heg. 998, 999, & 1000.

Marriage of one of the sultan's daughters. This death caused but little commotion at Constantinople. They were taken up with the marriage of one of the emperor's daughters with a bashaw called Ali, who, being one of Amurath's richest servants, was made choice of for his son-in-law. These festivals were celebrated with more splendor than is usually seen at Constantinople on like occasions; but, as we have already observed, they never resemble those which we admire in all the other courts of Europe. The Turks, more pompous than any other people, know how to display great riches and present the eyes with a luxury which we meet with no where else; but gaiety never animates any of these festivals. The total separation of the two sexes, and the almost idolatrous respect which the inferiors never fail of paying those on whom they depend, hinder the ever seeing of an impression of joy on the countenance of an assembly of Turks. The Mussulmen may be said to live within the walls of their houses only; besides, that despotism, which governs families like the empire, almost always banishes every kind of gaiety.

Meanwhile they learned at Constantinople that the Hungarians had attempted to lay siege to Albaregalis; that the bashaw of Buda, who had repaired

repaired to the succour of that place with what troops he had been able to collect from the neighbouring garrisons, had forced the enemy to retire. Siaus bashaw hastily assembled an army. The grand vizier, to supply the expences of this war, contrived a new impost: he forced the Franks and Jews, the only merchants in the whole empire, to take, at an exorbitant price, silks and furs which he had caused to be brought from different provinces of the empire. All the merchants were prohibited, under heavy penalties, to provide themselves but at the public treasury. These forced distributions soon filled it; but the burden of the impost, which the grand vizier had meant to lay on the Giaurs only, fell in the end on the Mussulmen, who, forced to have recourse to these merchants thus aggrieved, paid much dearer for the stuffs the materials of which had been sold at so high a price. In spite of the attention of the grand vizier and his endeavours to ease his countrymen by aggrieving the stranger, he did not long enjoy the confidence of his master. Some infidelities committed in the distribution of the timars cost ten secretaries of the divan their lives. This event furnished Ferhad's enemies with the means of putting him out of favor with the inconstant Amurath. This prime minister, formerly taken from one of the meanest employs in an oda of janissaries, after having for fifteen years passed through the most important

J.C. 1590,
 1591,
 & 1592.
 Heg. 998,
 999,
 & 1000.

Ferhad
 lays an im-
 post on the
 Franks and
 Jews.

Ferhad is
 deposed for
 the second
 time.
 Siaus ba-
 shaw made
 grand vi-
 zier.

J.C. 1590, important charges of the empire, after having
 1591, been twice grand vizier, was made a mazul for
 & 1592, the second time on slight suspicions, and reduced
 Heg. 998, to a state almost as abject as that from which he
 999, had been taken fifteen years before. The seals of
 & 1600, the empire were sent to Siaus bashaw, who was
 then on his march at the head of the army. It
 was time for the Turks to oppose the efforts of
 the Christians. Since the attempt made by the
 latter on Albaregalis, the archduke Matthias, ge-
 neral of the Hungarians, had taken, almost with-
 out resistance, Filleck and Novigrad, and had be-
 sieged Gran. The bashaw who commanded in
 this place was killed the first day the trenches
 were opened; but the garrison, instead of being
 discouraged, only shewed more resolution. The
 grand vizier arrived just in time to succour the
 place, which the archduke was obliged to aban-
 don. Siaus bashaw, who perfectly understood
 the art of war, forced the enemy to receive battle
 in unequal ground. The advantage of number
 and situation soon decided the victory. The
 archduke fled to Altenburg, and from thence to
 Pruck in Croatia, where he reassembled the bro-
 ken remains of his army. Siaus, victorious, im-
 mediately laid siege to Raab.

The grand vizier, Si-
 aus, obliges
 the arch-
 duke, Mat-
 thias, to
 raise the
 siege of
 Gran, and
 beats him.
 J.C. 1593.
 Heg. 1001,
 & 1002.

This was one of the strongest ramparts of lower
 Hungary, defended by count Hardec at the head
 of eight thousand men. The archduke, hoping
 that the numerous army of the Turks would be
 stopped

stopped a long time before this post, had made it the magazine of his army. Raab commanded the plain, and was watered and provisioned by two great rivers. Siaus, after having wasted much time and lost a number of men, attempted another sort of attack, from which the ramparts of Raab could not defend it. Count Hardec was not proof against a large sum of money, which the vizier conveyed to him by a Sicilian renegade. Some officers who commanded under him were accomplices in this perfidy, and shared the price of it. They instructed the Turks how to make their mines succeed. The traitors placed drums and other instruments of war on the bastions, in order to stifle the noise of the miners. The governor sacrificed to his avarice a great many brave men, who perished with the fortifications; and as soon as the place was open, Hardec, instead of repairing the breaches, which the soldiers were already earnestly endeavouring to dam-up, ordered a parley to be beaten, and the flag of capitulation to be hung out, notwithstanding the clamours of the garrison and of the officers who were not accomplices. The articles were immediately agreed on. It was remarked that the count, instead of being the last to leave the place, as every governor ought to be, placed himself at the head of the troops, who loaded him with imprecations, and that he was dressed in a very rich coat lined with sable, which was publicly

J.C. 1593.
Heg. 1001,
& 1002.

He besieges
Raab, and
takes it
through
the perfidy
of count
Hardec,
who is
found out
and pu-
nished.

I.C. 1593.
Heg. 1001,
& 1002. publicly said to be a present from the grand vizier. It was remarked likewise that he suffered, without complaining, all the disorders which the Ottoman troops committed under his eyes contrary to the tenor of the treaty. The murmurs became so great, that Hardec, believing it impossible to prove him guilty, hastened to the archduke's camp with intention to justify himself. Unfortunately for him, the renegade who had negotiated this perfidy, by a new treachery had carried the archduke all the proofs of his lieutenant's crime. The prince ordered the count to be put in arrest; he was conducted to Vienna loaded with chains, as well as all his accomplices whose flight could be prevented. They could not withstand the evidence produced against them, and being all legally convicted, were executed on the same scaffold.

Though the season was far advanced, the Turks invested Comorra, but to no purpose; they could not expect to find every where counts Hardec. The resistance of a numerous and well disciplined garrison, and the severity of the season, forced them, at the end of three weeks, to go into winter quarters. During the operations of this campaign, Rodolph, without going out of his palace, made a conquest which seemed likely to prove fatal to the Turks. Sigismund Batori, waywode of Transylvania, successor of the king of Poland, his uncle, in this sovereignty, which

Sigismund
Battori,
waywode of
Transylva-
nia, joins
the empe-
ror Ro-
dolph.

the

the king had been unable to preserve, was at-
 tached to his religion and the glory of the Chris-
 tians in Europe. The emperor of the West, who
 had not been able to prevail on the republic of
 Venice to declare against the Ottomans, had no
 difficulty in forming an alliance with the way-
 wode of Transylvania; and this prince, for the
 first fruit of his union, lay wait for the grand
 vizier when he cantoned his army. He totally
 defeated several corps as they were going
 into winter quarters. During the winter, the
 principal lords of Transylvania, discontented with
 the treaty made between their waywode and the
 emperor Rodolph, formed a conspiracy which
 Sigismund Battori was seasonably warned of. He
 ordered all of them to be arrested in the middle
 of a feast; and after having convicted them of
 treason by their intercepted letters, fourteen
 Transylvanian lords were delivered to the exe-
 cutioner.

J.C. 1593.
 Heg. 1001,
 & 1002.

Though the Turks had taken an important
 town, and gained a battle this campaign, the war
 had not been so advantageous as Siaus bashaw
 could have wished it. The revolt of Transyl-
 vania, in which Moldavia and Walachia threa-
 tened to join, made this minister fear a powerful
 confederacy. Uneasy for the event, he proposed
 to his master to shew the emperor, or at least the
 heir to the empire, to his subjects and his
 enemies, to encourage the one, and terrify

J.C. 1594.
Heg. 1003.

the others; or rather in reality to discharge himself of a load for which he was unwilling to be made responsible. But Amurath was equally afraid of fatigue and danger. Still less would he expose to the view of the Ottomans his eldest son, already twenty years old, whom he regarded less as his successor than as his rival. The sultan's jealousy was such, that he would not permit the prince to take the diversion of shooting and hunting, lest the courage and address which he might shew in those exercises should procure him the esteem of the people, who blamed rather loudly his father's conduct. At length, as Siaus bashaw persisted in his solicitations to have the father or the son come and direct the operations of the war, Amurath chose rather to conquer his effeminacy, than give food to his jealousy. He declared he would command the army the ensuing campaign; but all his exploits were confined to going to Adrianople and reviewing part of his troops.

Amurath
at length
puts him-
self at the
head of his
troops.

He is
frighted by
a violent
storm,
which he
takes for a
bad omen;
he falls
sick and
returns to
Constanti-
nople.

Whilst the squadrons of spahis and different corps of janissaries were filing off before him, a hail-storm, more violent than had been seen for a long time, obliged the troops to disperse. Amurath, greatly terrified, had the conjurers consulted, in whom he put more confidence than in the best heads of the divan. According to the principles of aeromancy, it was difficult to give a favorable interpretation to this event, which, according to the principles of reason, did not merit

merit one. The most favorable of these magicians announced to the prince losses and crosses : J.C. 1594.
Heg. 1003.
some of them an approaching end. These predictions terrified a weak man, who, having always feared danger, saw it even where it was not. The fright threw Amurath into a weak state, from which he never recovered. It brought on a fever which was the cause of his death. Oppressed with calamities which he foresaw more than those that he really experienced, he retraced the road to Constantinople, and Siaus bashaw marched towards Hungary.

Amurath, on his return to Constantinople, found two deputies there from the province of Walachia, who were come to complain against the cruelty of Alexander Ivan their waywode or palatine, and to request the sultan for a prince of the same house, called Michael, to succeed the tyrant Alexander. The deputies were heard much more favorably because the waywode of Walachia was suspected of having entered into a league with the Austrian emperor and the waywode of Transylvania, and with having secretly lent them succours. This accusation, much more considerable in Amurath's eyes than the first, procured the deputies every thing that they had asked. Michael, escaped from the prison of the tyrant, who had condemned him to die on a scaffold, was come to Constantinople, where he received the investiture by the standard and sword ;

J.C. 1594.
Heg. 1003.

but this was all the succour that he obtained from the Porte. He was sent back to Walachia, in order that his party might place him on the throne for which he was intended. This was the last act of Amurath's sovereignty. His fever soon brought him to the grave; he died in the haram in the arms of the first black eunuch, in the month of January 1595, aged fifty years and

Amurath
names a
waywode
of Wala-
chia, and
dies.

J.C. 1595.
Heg. 1003.

some months, of which he had reigned twenty. The only witness of the death of this prince received orders from him to conceal it 'till the arrival of his son Mahomet from Magnesia, Amurath, who had seen a great many troubles at Constantinople in his lifetime, still feared them at his death.

Amurath's
avarice
caused se-
veral re-
volts du-
ring his
reign,
which
were not
bloody.

To avoid repetitions, we have not mentioned the frequent revolts of the janissaries. There were no less than ten during the reign of Amurath; all for the same object, and all had the same end. The sultan, through avarice, often kept back the pay of the troops, and still more frequently had them paid with bad money. The soldiers presently perceived that the pieces of gold or silver had too much alloy. The merchants refused them for that reason. On this, the spahis, janissaries, and cappiggis went to the seraglio in a tumultuous manner, and loaded the emperor and his ministers with imprecations. These seditions were always appeased by bags of money thrown from the windows of the seraglio into the first court;

court; by publishing ordinances for carrying the defective money to officers therein mentioned, where it was changed; and finally, by the death of the coiners of this money, who had done nothing more than execute the emperor's orders. The principal movers of some of these seditions lost their lives, but in a very small number, and only when they were convicted of having killed their own officers; so that during the reign of this prince the soldiers, who always gained by complaining, and who had frequent occasions so to do, became more and more unquiet, and, afterward, very formidable to the successors of Amurath. The reign of this prince was bloody only in the beginning. He scarcely put any one to death but his brothers and the sultaneffes whom Selim II. had left with child. Not one of the first officers of the empire perished by the hands of the executioner, though he changed them very often.

Inconstancy and pusillanimity composed his character. He seemed to remember that he had the supreme power in his own hands, only to transfer it from one to another, and to displace, according to his caprice, the different ministers who reigned in his name. The influence which he permitted to be assumed over him was the effect of his weakness; never of his confidence or inclination. He injured the woman whom he had most loved, in a very singular and grievous manner,

J.C. 1595.
Heg. 1003.

manner, by having all her slaves put to cruel tortures, in order to wrest from them, as he said, by what secret magic their mistress made the emperor love her against his will. But we have remarked that he was guilty of innumerable infidelities to his sultaneſs, the mother of his ſucceſſor Mahomet, who was a noble Venetian of the family of Baſſo. History does not ſay what name ſhe bore in the ſeraglio. Notwithſtanding the influence which this Venetian conſtantly preſerved, ſhe could never prevail on him to marry her, nor declare her empreſs, as the artful Roxalana had been. Amurath had a hundred and two children. This number, which appears prodigious, is not beyond probability, when we conſider the number of women that entered his bed. So much debauchery, to which was joined the exceſſive uſe of wine, which Amurath indulged himſelf in during the laſt ten years of his reign, deſtroyed his faculties and haſtened old age. He was at fifty years old perfectly decrepit. Amurath was more hated than any of his predeceſſors, though he was leſs ſanguinary; his extreme avarice was the principal cauſe of it. This prince, as ſilly as unjuſt, never comprehended, that the riches of a monarch conſiſt in the eaſe of the people and in the money in circulation, and that he impoveriſhed himſelf in reality of all the gold which he plundered from commerce to bury in his ſecret treaſures.

MAHOMET

J.C. 1595,
Heg. 1003,
& 1004.

M A H O M E T III.

THIRTEENTH REIGN.

AS soon as Amurath was dead, the old grand vizier, Ferhad, who was at that time bostangipachi, hastened to Magnesia to inform Mahomet, the eldest of the royal family, that he was emperor. As a reward for this intelligence, he was made caimacan. Mahomet III. whom Amurath's jealousy had kept from the command of the army, was dreaded by every one who knew him in his retirement. He had already shewn himself excessively cruel to those few men who were under him. He had put to death one of the women of his haram, and several of his slaves had met the same fate for trifling faults. A young prince so prompt to punish did not presage well. Mahomet arrived at Constantinople seven days after his father's death. After having had the sword of Othman girded on him by the hands of the musti with the usual ceremonies, he indulged his cruelty, under pretext of securing himself on his throne. Nineteen brothers of the new emperor were strangled in his presence; and ten odalisks with child by Amurath were thrown into the sea. Fifteen of these princes were still at the breast, and four in a state to comprehend their misfortune.

Mahomet
has his
brothers
strangled.

J.C. 1595,
Heg. 1003,
& 1004.

tune. Mustapha, the eldest of them, seventeen years old, had already shewn qualities which caused his loss to be bewailed. As soon as he had learned the death of Amurath III. not doubting but he should soon follow him, this young prince made Arabic verses, which intimated that he had known life, only to experience the horror of losing it, and he recited them prior to his being strangled.

Mahomet found the state in the greatest disorder. The covetous Amurath, by separating his particular interest from that of the public, had neglected even the provisioning of Constantinople. For three successive years had the farmers' hopes been deceived. For a long time contrary winds had prevented navigation on the coasts of the Black sea, from whence the capital receives all its subsistence: Thus the public treasury was quite full of the parsimony and depredations of Amurath, and his people were menaced with a famine. The city of Constantinople, so near the fertile Asia, surrounded by seas and ports which ought to have stored it with the abundance of three parts of the world, wanted corn for its inhabitants. Whilst the grand vizier, Siaus bashaw, was commanding the army in Hungary, Ferhad, from bostangi become caimacan, endeavoured to prevent revolts. It was necessary to open all these vases filled with gold which 'till then had served only to be looked at. This averted the scourge

The caimacan, Ferhad, prevents a famine at Constantinople.

scourge, which began to be felt. Ferhad had corn brought at a great expence; he drew it both from the west and north. But a famine was not the only calamity that was to be dreaded. A dreadful war ravaged two parts of the empire. The waywodes of Transylvania, Walachia, and Moldavia, three revolted tributaries, strongly succoured by the emperor of the West, were become formidable enemies. Having divided their forces into two bodies, they attacked the Turks both in upper and lower Hungary. The waywode Sigismund Battori commanded one of the armies; the other was under the command of count Mansfeld, general to the emperor. In a very short time, Siaus bashaw was beaten twice, and the Turks lost Waradin, Lippha, and Tergowisko. Having repassed the Danube, they were pursued by a victorious army; and, after another battle, they lost likewise fort St. George. Whilst the three waywodes were thus throwing off the Turkish yoke, count Mansfeld, at the head of fifty thousand men, closely pressed the siege of Gran. Mahomet hastened to send an army to the succour of that place: the bashaw of Buda, who commanded this reinforcement, was beaten by count Mansfeld. The Austrian general did not survive his victory. Already ill when he began the battle, he died of fatigue and the increase of his disorder the day after he had gained it. The archduke Matthias was sent by the emperor

J.C. 1595.
Heg. 1003,
& 1004.

Revolt of
the three
waywodes
of Tran-
sylvania,
Walachia,
and Mol-
davia.

Two
Christian
armies
have equal
success in
upper and
lower
Hungary.

J.C. 1595.
Heg. 1003,
& 1004.

Rodolph to command in his place. Gran stood but a few days, and the Austrian prince crowned himself with the laurels won by count Mansfeld. After the reduction of this place, the archduke laid siege to Vicegrad, which the Hungarians and Turks believed still more important, though less considerable, because the crown of the kings of Hungary had been always kept there. Both nations considered the conquest of Vicegrad as a certain presage of that of all the kingdom. The Austrians took this place, as they had done all the others, with much bloodshed. The severity of the winter having forced the armies to seek quarters, Mahomet, afflicted at so many losses, recalled the grand vizier Siaus. No one doubted but that general would lose his head for the misfortunes of the campaign. The discontent and sanguinary disposition of the monarch was a melancholy presage for his return; but Siaus knew Mahomet to be still more feeble than cruel, and he knew likewise that the valid sultaneß had more influence over her son, than she had had over Amurath in her greatest prosperity. The grand vizier sent on considerable presents before him to Constantinople, which the chief of the eunuchs offered from him to the emperor's mother. The greedy, haughty valid fancied it was equally her interest and glory to protect a minister enriched under two sultans, whom all the courtiers wanted to ruin, and whom her son had already condemned.


The grand vizier, Siaus, is deposed. The interest of the valid sultaneß, which he buys, saves his life.

demned. She attributed Siaus's faults to the accidents so common in war; she reminded her son of the important services of the grand vizier; and though she could not succeed to preserve him his place, she saved his life at least, and all his riches, which she chose rather to divide with him, than see swallowed up in the treasury of the seraglio.

J.C. 1596.
Heg. 1004,
& 1005.

The caimacan, Ferhad, become grand vizier for the third time, attempted the subsequent year to recover Walachia. He was in every respect much more unfortunate than Siaus had been. Having marched at the head of sixty thousand new troops who escorted a numerous artillery, all his cannon were spiked in one night in the middle of his camp, without it's being possible to attribute it to any others than secret enemies, much more dangerous than the most numerous armies. The guards had without doubt been corrupted, for not a vestige of defence was to be seen. The next day the magazines were reduced to ashes. These events threw the new vizier into a distrust which thwarted all his operations. He attempted in vain the siege of several places, which the waywode as constantly obliged him to raise. At length, having been pursued as far as Nicopoli, he lost a battle before that town, which was taken under his eyes, and put to fire and sword by the confederate troops. This general, who had experienced in different disgraces several confiscations, had not, on his return to Con-

Ferhad,
successor to
Siaus, is
beaten like
him in
Hungary.

J.C. 1596.
Heg. 1004,
& 1005.  Constantinople, wherewithal to purchase his pardon. The valid, who was sensible of the necessity of making an example, caused it to fall on this vizier, whom she had always hated. Ferhad lost his life by the bow-string, and the desterdar seized the grand vizier's property for the public treasury, which was not comparable to Siaus bashaw's.

Mahomet
has him
strangled.

J.C. 1597.
Heg. 1005,
& 1006. Ali Assan succeeded the unfortunate Ferhad in the dignity of vizier. The new minister, who was afraid of exposing his fortune, and perhaps his life, to the events of a war already so unfortunate, prevailed on his master to command the army himself. In the last reign, Mahomet had wished to appear at the head of the troops, in order to gain the affection of the janissaries, who blamed the effeminacy of his father. He could not refuse the desire which the troops and all the bashaws expressed to see their emperor at their head; persuaded likewise that his presence would re-establish his affairs, he left Constantinople with a warlike pomp, to which the people were no longer accustomed; and having collected as many troops as he could levy in his European dominions, he reviewed them in the plains of Buda. His army was said to amount to two hundred thousand men. Mahomet, by the advice of his grand vizier, sent the fourth part of his forces against the waywode of Transylvania, and went himself at the head of a hundred and fifty thousand men, and besieged Agria, a small town,

town, but very strong, in upper Hungary. This place, defended by nature and a good citadel, contained a garrison of four thousand men, under the command of a brave officer called Terskins. The archduke Matthias had just taken Advan, a place in the same province, not much above twenty miles from Agria, and had retreated, on the news of the arrival of the Turks, in order to join the waywode of Walachia. The brave Terskins undertook with four thousand men to stop a hundred and fifty thousand before Agria. A numerous artillery which had continually battered the fortifications since the 21st of September, had not by the 1st of October opened any breaches that were practicable. The emperor, irritated at seeing himself stopped before a paltry town at the head of such a numerous army, would fain corrupt him whom he was unable to vanquish. The officer, charged with offering the besieged an honorable capitulation, proposed underhand to the governor a large sum of money and a sangiacate, if he would embrace Islamism. Terskins replied to these propositions, as magnificent as injurious, by ordering a gallows to be erected in the public square, threatening to hang up the first thereon who should talk of capitulating. At the same time the Turkish emperor published, by his trumpeters, that if the town should be taken by assault, the garrison and citizens of all sexes and ages should be put to the sword.

J.C. 1597.
Heg. 1005,
& 1006.

Siege and
taking of
Agria.

J.C. 1597.
Heg. 1005,
& 1006.

sword. The cannon began to make an impression on the walls. The citizens and soldiers, persuaded that such a feeble garrison could not long resist a formidable army, cried with one voice that they must surrender. Terskins, who constantly expected the archduke, was immoveable, though the breaches grew larger, and he had already lost more than half of his garrison. At length the terror became so great, that the soldiers seized their governor and bound him, and having opened one of the gates of the town, they conducted him in the middle of them to the Turkish camp, with three officers who continued faithful to him. The aga of the janissaries, who was sent out against them, put all those soldiers to the sword, who asked quarter on their knees and promised to turn Mussulmen. The governor and the three officers whom they were conducting prisoners were alone spared and presented to Mahomet. The emperor, who had no way ordered this carnage, had the aga of the janissaries and the principal officers guilty of so many murders cut to pieces the same instant, and ordered that the citizens of Agria, their wives and children, should be left at liberty and in possession of every thing belonging to them.

Mahomet had scarcely taken possession of his new conquest, when they perceived at a distance the army of the archduke Matthias, who, reinforced with that of the waywode, was coming to relieve

relieve Agria. His march had been retarded by continual rains. The Germans saw with grief the horse-tails floating on the towers and ramparts of Agria. When they learned the shameful treatment which the garrison had met with, they demanded loudly to be permitted to attack these barbarians: though they were very inferior in number, their multiplied successes inspired them with confidence. They longed to drive the Mussulmen quite out of Hungary. The archduke, taking advantage of this ardour, arranged his troops in battle. The plain was large and level. The Turkish army, which covered Agria, displayed its whole force to the enemy. The sultan saw the inequality of the number, and thought the Germans marching to their own ruin. But the hundred and fifty thousand Turks were not all janissaries or spahis. Ali Assan, who was to arrange the order of battle, thought it prudent to place the best soldiers in the reserve. The asaps were repulsed the first onset, and soon cut to pieces by the Hungarian cavalry. A corps of cuirassiers having furiously attacked the bostangis who composed Mahomet's guard, the person of the monarch was in great danger; at least he thought so, for he fled full speed into Agria, and ordered the draw-bridges to be drawn up after him. The Hungarian cavalry took the Turkish camp, and the infantry followed at a short distance. Whether the grand vizier, Ali Assan,

J.C. 1597.
Heg. 1005,
& 1006.

Battle of
Agria.

J.C. 1597.
Heg. 1005,
& 1006.

Assan, had foreseen what would happen, or that the disorder of the first line would not permit the reserve to cut its way through sooner, the janissaries did not begin to fight, 'till all the troopers, tempted by the richness of the booty, had alighted in spite of the archduke's orders, and the infantry had quitted their ranks. Then these fresh battalions attacked the dispersed soldiers, bending under their booty, for which they had thrown aside their arms. The janissaries massacred them as the latter had massacred the asaps. A multitude of soldiers expired on the booty which they would not abandon, to such a degree was their greediness excited by the rich stuffs, valuable furniture, and heaps of gold found in the sultan's quarters. This day, one of the most bloody in history, can scarcely be called a battle. It was rather a reciprocal carnage, in which the Hungarians lost twenty thousand men, and the Ottomans more than thirty, each of the two nations having shewn in its turn equal discouragement and disorder. The archduke, grieved to the heart at having seen escape him a victory which he had already gained, turned back into Hungary; and Mahomet, persuaded by his experience that he was not born for war, hastened to Constantinople with his grand vizier, leaving the command of his army to a bashaw called Ibrahim.

The latter made a conquest which cost no blood and was of great consequence to the Porte.

The

The waywode of Walachia, discontented, we know not why, with the archduke Matthias, Sigismund Battori, and all the Hungarians, separated from the army with twelve thousand men, under pretence of besieging some places. Ibrahim gained him over by a secret negociation; so that this prince, on his return to his dominions, received anew the standard and sword from the Porte, promising never to carry arms again against the emperor of the East, whom he publicly acknowledged for sovereign paramount of Walachia. A very short time after this defection, Sigismund Battori resigned all his right to Transylvania to the emperor Rodolph, receiving in exchange the dutchies of Oppelen and Ratibor in Silesia, and some other advantages. Though the Turkish historians assert that a peace was then concluded between the two emperors of the East and West, we find in the history of Germany that a war was kept up between these two powers, during the whole reign of Mahomet and part of his successor's.

The sultan re-entered Constantinople with as much pomp as if he had added a province to his empire; but he found in the effeminacy and indolence of his seraglio still greater dangers than those from which he had fled in Hungary. A dreadful plague troubled the city of Constantinople. Never had this malady made such ravages: seventeen princesses, sisters of the sultan, perished in one day, as well as a great number of

J.C. 1597.
Heg. 1005,
& 1006.

The waywode of Walachia returns to the obedience of the grand seignior, & Transylvania to that of the emperor of the West.

J.C. 1598.
Heg. 1006,
& 1007.

Constantinople is ravaged by the plague.

J.C. 1598. sultaneſſes, aſſakys,* odaliſks, and other women.
 Heg. 1006,
 & 1007.

Mahomet was himſelf ſlightly attacked, but ſufficiently to prevent his going out of the ſeraglio, where the diſorder was more riſe than any where elſe. Cannon were fired in all the ports, even in the ſquares of Conſtantinople, in order to diſſipate the infected air; and heaps of aromatic herbs were burnt in the ſtreets. The hiſtorians don't tell us the number of the dead; but they mention this plague as having been much more fatal than it generally is in the Eaſt.

The valid ſultaneſs abuſes the authority left her by her ſon.

Mahomet had no ſooner eſcaped theſe dangers, than he reſigned himſelf to his pleaſures. He abandoned the reins of government to the valid ſultaneſs his mother. It is eaſy to conceive how little a woman educated in Turkey, who has never caſt her view beyond the walls of a haram, accuſtomed to tremble before an eunuch, and who has exhausted all her art to gain the affection of her maſter, can be proper to govern a great empire. The valid ſultaneſs knew no more than to grant without reaſon and without meaſure to thoſe whom ſhe liked, or whom ſhe might fear. The chief eunuchs had then prodigious credit; and theſe demi-men, as ignorant of ſtate affairs as the women whom they ſerved and governed by turns, drained the provinces without reflecting on the conſequences of ſo many calamities. The grand vizier, Ali Aſſan, had neither ſufficient authority,

* See page 185 of this volume.

authority, nor talents, nor courage, to remedy all these disorders: thus, the sangiacs received orders continually to oppress the provinces, or to strip the rich of their patrimony and the fruits of their labour; and when complaints were carried to the Porte against the conduct of these officers, who had only obeyed the orders that they had received, the valid, to appease the people, condemned the unfortunate sangiacs to be strangled: the confiscation of their property enriched some slaves who still profited by these commotions.

In the middle of this anarchy, Mr. Debreves, ambassador from France, found means to protect advantageously his countrymen and procure them the justice which the Mussulmen were refused. By the treaties between France and the Porte, not only the vessels of the grand seignior were to refrain from attacking the French merchant-men, but likewise all the other powers, even enemies, were to pay respect to the French flag whilst in the ports, or latitudes, or on the coasts of the Ottoman empire, because the French merchants sailed under the protection of the grand seignior. Notwithstanding these privileges, several English privateers had attacked the French merchant-men with success on the coasts of Algiers and Tunis, and had divided their spoils with the officers of the Porte. Mr. Debreves complained grievously to the captain

J.C. 1598.
Heg. 1006,
& 1007.

The French
ambassador
procures
justice for
his com-
patriots.

J.C. 1598.
Heg. 1006,
& 1007.

basnaw, called Cigala, who, having been a corsair himself for several years, was accustomed to protect these depredations and profit by the booty. The French ambassador, not receiving any favorable reply to two successive complaints of two prizes which had been taken, the one on the coast of Algiers, the other on that of Tunis, declared to the grand vizier, with much haughtiness, that he was going to retire into Hungary, after having prohibited in the name of his master any merchandise to be brought to Constantinople under the French flag. This menace had all the effect that Mr. Debreves had expected. The Turks, already greatly embarrassed by the Hungarian war, were afraid of drawing on themselves a new enemy such as the king of France. The prizes were restored to the aggrieved merchants, and the property of the corsairs confiscated to the amount of these restitutions. The French ambassador, after having effectually defended the interests of his nation, supported likewise its dignity, and made the Infidels respect his religion. The quarter of the Franks settled at Constantinople was then at Galata. There were three churches, the duty of which was done by Franciscan monks, which all the Christians publicly frequented, pursuant to treaty. Three penitent renegades had taken shelter in these churches: the law of Mahomet condemns to death all those who leave it; and the Turks are still more enraged

raged against the renegades that return to the
 pale of the Church called by them relapses, than
 against those who, born Mussulmen, embrace
 Christianity. The musti hastened to Galata; the
 three unfortunate relapses were dragged from
 their asylum and empaled immediately. As they
 were preparing to beat down the churches and
 profane the altars, Mr. Debreves ran with what
 French and Christians of other nations he could
 gather together, and declared to the musti, who
 was the author of this tumult, that he was re-
 solved to defend his religion and the public
 exercise of it, which he had a right to perform,
 at the peril of his life; that, if he perished, the
 king of France would revenge the injury done to
 God and his crown. The eloquence and firmness
 of the ambassador overcame the musti. The ja-
 nissaries, who had run to pull down and burn the
 three churches, were kept back; and, for once,
 fanaticism was overawed by true zeal.

J.C. 1598.
 Heg. 1006,
 & 1007.

He pre-
 vents some
 churches
 from being
 burnt.

An embassy to France had long been talked of.
 King Henry IV. complained of the violation of
 the treaties. Mr. Debreves told the grand vi-
 zier, Ali Assan, several times, that the only way
 to pacify this prince, whose alliance was of such
 great consequence to the sultan, would be for his
 highness to write himself to his most Christian
 majesty, that he desired to live in peace with
 France, and protect the commerce of that nation
 throughout his dominions; that, in order to ce-
 ment

J.C. 1598.
Heg. 1006,
& 1007.

ment the union and establish equality, it would not be wrong for the grand seignior to send some presents to the king of France; that then the latter would offer some by his ambassadors in his turn, as practised between Persia and the emperor of Constantinople. The Porte, which had always pretended to a superiority over all the Christian powers, had complained several times of the king of France's not making any presents, and had never stooped so far as to offer any itself. The grand vizier, who knew that a great number of French had engaged themselves in the Hungarian war, and who wished to get their master to recall them, easily prevailed on Mahomet to execute every thing that the French ambassador had proposed. The Ottoman monarch's letter conferred titles on Henry IV. which not one of his predecessors had ever granted to any Christian prince.

The Turks
 sends an
 embassy to
 Henry IV.
 king of
 France.

The following was the superscription of it. "To the most glorious, most magnanimous, and most powerful lord of the belief of Jesus, elect among the princes of the nation of the Messiah, mediator between all the Christians, lord of grandeur, majesty, and riches, and clear guide among the most great, Henry the fourth, emperor* of France." This letter contained an exact state of the satisfaction made the merchants whose vessels had been taken on the coasts of

* In all treaties with the Porte, the French king styles himself *emperor of France.* T.

of Algiers and Tunis, and an assurance of a J.C. 1598.
Heg. 1006,
& 1007. punctual execution of the treaties in future. The sultan concluded by requesting his ally the king of France not to suffer his subjects to carry arms against the Porte, and to recall those who were enrolled in great number in the army of the emperor Rodolph. A chiau, invested with the title of ambassador extraordinary, was charged to carry this letter, and with it a sword set with precious stones, and several horses of great value. A galley from Constantinople was to convey this ambassador to the coast of Provence; but, under such a prince as Mahomet, every one was master except the lawful one. Cigala, the captain bashaw, thinking it inconsistent with the dignity of the Ottoman empire to send presents to a Christian prince, ordered the captain of the galley which carried the ambassador, to make a pretext for putting into the isle of Scio. There, this officer received a pretended order from the emperor to bring back the ambassador to Constantinople. The vizier, who was not sufficiently powerful to make the captain bashaw obey him, convinced of the necessity of this proceeding, was obliged to send off his ambassador by land, notwithstanding the war which ought to render a passage through Hungary very uncertain; but the Imperialists J.C. 1599.
Heg. 1007,
& 1008. respected the law of nations, and the Turkish ambassador arrived at Paris.

J.C. 1599.
Heg. 1007,
& 1008.

One may suppose that this anarchy, which caused so much confusion in the capital, was not less in the distant provinces. Several Asiatic bashaws made a custom of not respecting the orders of the valid sultaneſs. Some even defended their heads, which the imprudent sultaneſs demanded from them on the faith of that blind obedience so common in the eastern empire, but which she was unable to maintain. The bashaws of Erzerum, Siwas, and Caramania, after having had the chiaus put to death that came to depose them in the name of the sultan, declared they would no longer acknowledge for master a tyrant greedy of the substance of the people and the blood of his ministers. They seized the imposts in the hands of the deſterdars established for sending them to Constantinople, and confiscated the timars belonging to the officers of the spahis who remained in the service of Mahomet. The surface of this great empire was soon on fire. Whilst the imprudent valid was sending absolute orders to bashaws who had her chiaus strangled, the duke of Mercœur was beating the Ottoman troops in Hungary. It was necessary to send reinforcements into this province, and the sangiacates of Asia, where the rebellion had broken out. Commerce was interrupted. The customs and quit-rents laid on the lands diminished every day. The valid and her eunuchs no longer found

found resources but in the fortunes of rich individuals, which they were not afraid to wrest from them. The grand vizier marched to oppose the progress which Scrivan, bashaw of Caramania, was making towards Constantinople. This rebel was the most dangerous, on account of his being the nearest. But whilst they were meditating to oppose the torrent which threatened the capital, the fire of rebellion broke out within its walls. Tho' there was a considerable army in Hungary, and several bodies of troops in the different provinces of Asia, at the head of one of which was the grand vizier Ali Assan, there remained at Constantinople some odas of janissaries and a more considerable body of spahis. These last were for the most part deprived of their timars by the troubles. They beset continually the door of the caimacan Zaadi, who acted for the grand vizier. This minister, being no longer able to withstand the clamours and reproaches of a soldiery more formidable to its prince than it had ever been to the enemies of the state, and fearing lest he should become the object of public resentment, obtained an order to be shut up in a castle. The riot was so great, that he solicited as a favor what till then had been a chastisement greatly dreaded.

Meanwhile the spahis assembled every day in the first court of the seraglio, demanding loudly to be made satisfaction for the timars which the weakness of the government had lost

Sedition of
the spahis.

J.C. 1599.
Heg. 1007,
& 1008.

them. They soon learned that Scrivan had gotten possession of the town of Bursa and all its territory. On this, they made new complaints to obtain a pay in compensation for the revenues of their lands; for those spahis who are timarians, not only serve without pay, but are obliged to maintain several troopers. Thus, several odas of this corps receive nothing from the public treasury; and those that are paid, pretending to be timarians like their comrades, always take part with the latter. They wanted to have the treasures of the mosques opened to them; but the musti, and the kissar agasi, the chief of the black eunuchs, who by his place has the management of all the royal mosques, strongly opposed the demands of this mutinous soldiery. One of their chiefs, called Houssain, stirred up all those that were at Constantinople, crying they were the only victims of so many disorders; that, whilst all the revolted bashaws were seizing on the ruins of the empire, and maintaining their comrades in plenty at Bursa, Erzerum, and Siwas, they alone were starving at Constantinople, because they had not the spirit to demand what belonged to them. These seditious cries soon assembled those that had reason to complain. The janisfaries did not engage in this quarrel; but they saw with a secret pleasure this corps, generally more quiet than theirs, on the point of a revolt,

and

and perplexing the chiefs. All the spahis having repaired to the outer court of the seraglio in arms and on foot, demanded loudly to have their officers admitted to prostrate themselves before the emperor. As no answer was made them, and the gate of the second court remained shut, they proceeded from intreaties to threats; they declared they would burn the seraglio, if it were not instantly opened to them. The janissaries served the spahis usefully, by remaining spectators of a revolt which they would not oppose. The grand seignior had only the bostangis left, who guard the inner part of the seraglio; but these troops, established more for the dignity of the throne than for the safety of the emperor, were neither sufficiently numerous nor warlike, to keep in subjection seven or eight thousand old soldiers, strongly interested, and who relied on the weakness of the chiefs. This tumult awoke the emperor from his lethargy: it was necessary to do something. The caimacan Mamout and the musti advised him to hear the complaints of the rebels, and to appear to grant to the justness of their demand what he was constrained to do by force.

The two principal spahis were to be introduced to the feet of the emperor; but they refused to come in a less number than thirty; and as it is the usage of the Porte to appear unarmed before the sultan, the deputies gave up their lances and swords, but they took care to keep under their

J.C. 1599.
Heg. 1007,
&c 1008.

clothes poniards which could not be seen. The grand seignior received these deputies on his throne; he was accompanied by the musti, the caimacan, three other viziers of the bench, the aga of the janissaries, some other officers of that corps, and some capiggis intended to execute the orders of their master. Houssain and his companions kissed the ground several times at the foot of the throne: after having raised themselves, Houssain represented with great vehemence the complaints of the spahis and the disorders which weakened the empire; he demanded the restoration of the timars, or money instead of it, and complained that the viziers, and especially the eunuchs, exercised a power as unlimited as unjust. He concluded with haughtily demanding, in the name of the spahis assembled in the outer court of the seraglio, the heads of the last caimacan, then shut up in a castle, of the kislar agasi, chief of the black eunuchs and governor of the haram, of the capi agasi, chief of the white eunuchs and governor of the grand seignior's pages. Houssain added that the spahis would not disperse 'till the three heads demanded were exposed to their eyes, and that the money which they had a right to exact were given them. Mahomet trembled on his throne; his ministers were not less terrified at the sight of mutinous soldiers who presumed to give orders to their master, who marked out their victims, and who might treat in the same manner those

those who should excite their suspicions or hatred. The emperor did not think of resisting. Whilst the capiggis were gone for the three proscribed victims, the caimacan Mamout said, in favor of his predecessor and the two eunuchs, that they ought not to be condemned unheard, and that it would not be just to put them to death if they had only executed the grand seignior's orders. As soon as they were arrived, Houffain repeated the same accusations. The late caimacan, Zaadi, replied solely by producing his orders signed by the emperor, with which he had taken care to provide himself. The prince, embarrassed, descended to justifications, and said, that he had been imposed on by Timatkchi, the junior vizier or bashaw of the bench, whom he instantly delivered to the executioners. Already was this unfortunate man on his knees, and the fatal bow-string around his neck, without his being permitted to say a syllable in his defence, when the aga of the janissaries, a friend of Timatkchi's, and who wished likewise to try the credit of his corps, declared that all his comrades took Timatkchi bashaw, who had served a long time in the janissaries, under their protection, and he haughtily demanded of the sultan the pardon of this supposed criminal. Mahomet, who knew only to oppress the weak and yield to the audacious, readily granted the life of Timatkchi, as the spahis did not demand his execution. When
the

J.C. 1599.
Heg. 1007,
& 1008.

J.C. 1599-
Heg. 1007,
& 1008.

The chiefs
of the
black and
white eu-
nuchs are
strangled.

the cause of the two eunuchs was examined, they could alledge, as a pretext for the innumerable exactions with which they were reproached, only the pleasure of the valid sultaneſs. They were ſtrangled almoſt at the foot of the throne. The muſti, whoſe dignity did not ſhelter him from the fury of the rebels, declared that he would not oppoſe the taking of money from the treaſures of the moſques to pay the ſpahis with, provided it were only for a certain time. The emperor promiſed to ſend new armies againſt Scrivan and the other rebels. The ſpahis diſperſed on ſeeing the dead bodies of the two eunuchs, and the bags of money which were inſtantly given them. The ſedition was ſuppreſſed for this time; but the muſti, frightened at the dangers which he had eſcaped, voluntarily reſigned his dignity; and having condemned himſelf to a voluntary exile, he retired to the iſle of Rhodes with immenſe riches, which he would fain ſecure. Houſſain, who ſtill poſſeſſed great power, and the caimacan, preſented in concert an effendi, or eccleſiaſtic, devoted to their own intereſt, to fill this important dignity. He was called Zani Houlla, and had always been the enemy of the grand vi- zier. The caimacan hoped that this ambitious effendi would be of uſe to him in his deſign of wreſting the ſeals of the empire from his ſuperior.

The news of the inſurrection of the ſpahis, and the promotion of Zani, afflicted Ali Aſſan, who commanded

commanded the army in Asia against Scrivan. J.C. 1599-
Heg. 1007,
& 1008.
This minister was not ignorant of his having every thing to fear from the favor of the caimacan Mamout. A sedition, the issue of which had been favorable to the rebels; a new chief of the law whom he knew to be his enemy; the weakness of the master; the caprice of the sultaneſs-mother; the little ſucceſs which he had himſelf had againſt the rebels (for he had been obliged to raiſe two ſieges); every thing preſaged to Ali Aſſan an approaching fall, if he did not recover his late aſcendancy over the feeble Mahomet. He left the army under the command of a lieutenant, and haſtened to Conſtantinople under pretence of communicating to the emperor ſome propoſals from the rebels.

On his arrival he ſent for the aga and ſeveral chiefs of the janiffaries, and reproached them gently for the inaction in which their corps had remained during the ſedition of the ſpahis. He excited their jealousy as much as he poſſibly could againſt theſe troopers, who uſurped in the empire an authority which the janiffaries alone had 'till then held, telling them that they ought to be the hands of the ſovereign. Ali Aſſan had reaſon to ſeek the friendſhip of this ſoldiery; for the moment was not far off when he would want their aſſiſtance. The caimacan and the chief of the ſpahis had no ſooner learned the arrival of the grand vizier at Conſtantinople, than they haſtened

J.C. 1999.
Heg. 1007,
& 1008.

The musti
gives a
fetfa
against the
grand vi-
zier Ali
Affan.
The latter,
in his
turn, ob-
tains an
order from
the grand
seignior to
have the
caimacan
strangled.

to procure from the new musti, their creature, a fetfa which condemned Ali Affan to lose the seals and his life. The caimacan Mamout carried it immediately to the grand seignior. These fetfas, as it is well known, are not decrees, but pretended advice founded on the Alcoran, that the chief of the law gives the sovereign, and which is almost always respected, because the explanation of the scripture belongs to the musti, as the execution appertains to the grand seignior. The grand vizier being come to pay his respects to his master, Mahomet, irresolute, shewed him the musti's fetfa. The minister assured him that this chief of the law was only the venal instrument of the spahis; he accused him even of having received thirty thousand sequins from the caimacan Mamout, who hoped that this faction would raise him to the dignity of grand vizier. He reminded Mahomet of his having never done any thing without his consent, or his mother's, and pleaded his cause with so much success to the sultaneß and her son, that before he left the seraglio he received an order for having the caimacan instantly strangled. He sent, to execute him, two capiggis, who did not find the caimacan at home, and who sought him in vain elsewhere, as the news of their commission were already spread. On this rumour, the spahis assembled; and the grand vizier having learned that Houßain, with a numerous troop, was ready to enter his palace

to make him suffer the punishment which he intended for the caimacan, he had but just time to have his doors shut. The approach of night interrupted the tumult. The grand vizier escaped by a back door to the aga's of the janissaries, from whence he wrote orders to all the odas of janissaries, topggis or artillery, and all the levantis or marines, to parade armed at break of day before the outer court of the seraglio. All the troops being arrived at the appointed place, the grand vizier repaired thither himself escorted by two hundred janissaries; he read aloud these words written by the emperor with his own hand: "You, janissaries, topggis, and levantis, who have faithfully served my ancestors, I order you to chastise the rebels in concert with my grand vizier Ali Affan; that is the way to merit my favor." All the odas replied by acclamations, and several chiefs came out of the ranks and demanded of the grand vizier that the new musti, whom they believed guilty of having received thirty thousand sequins for a false fetfa given against him the vizier, and consequently of being the author of all these troubles, might be accused to his highness, and sent into exile.* They added that the spahis should be first ordered to deliver up their chiefs to be put to immediate

J.C. 1599.
Heg. 1007,
& 1008.

The janissaries take arms against the spahis who disperse themselves in different places.

VOL. II.

I i

death,

* Neither the musti nor any effendi can be put to death whilst he continues in the ulema. This is the chief privilege of that corps; and no sultan has ever presumed to derogate from it.

J.C. 1599.
Heg. 1007,
& 1008.

death, and that, if they refused, they would then march against them. They were informed that this cavalry was drawn up in squadrons in several parts of Constantinople, and that Houffain's troop was ranged in the place called the yard, with the caimacan Mamout at their head. A list of the proscribed was immediately made; it contained sixteen names, at the head of which were the caimacan's and Houffain's. The spahis received with indignation the deputies of the janissaries; they threatened even to run them through with their lances if they durst bring a second time similar propositions. In the moment when the grand vizier received the answer of the spahis, he received likewise a letter from the sultan, who, agreeably to the wishes of the janissaries, deposed the musti, and declared one of the two cadilefkers, musti in his place. § The new chief of the law placed himself at the head of the troops with all the pomp belonging to his dignity. He was called Abul Meiamen. After the reading of the emperor's letter and the acclamations of the troops, the grand vizier laid before the musti the answer of the spahis, and desired him for a fetfa to regulate his proceedings by. Abul Meiamen instantly drew up his decision in these terms: "The spahis, refusing to deliver up the rebels, and undertaking their defence, become rebels themselves, and traitors to the sublime

The musti
is deposed.

His successor gives
a fetfa
against the
spahis,
who, in a
little time,
lay down
their arms.

§ There are two cadilefkers, both lieutenants to the musti.

“sublime emperor. This corps ought to be
 “broken, if they don’t immediately lay down
 “their arms. The law of the holy prophet or-
 “ders their being reduced by force.” The
 grand vizier, provided with this fetfa, ordered
 the gates of Constantinople to be shut. The
 decision of the new musti was published, not at
 first to the squadrons most numerous commanded
 by Houffain, and at the head of which was the
 caimacan Mamout, but to those farthest off, se-
 veral of which, not having any of the chiefs of
 the rebellion among them, alighted from their
 horses lest they should be punished for faults
 which they had not committed; they declared
 they would obey the fetfa. On these news being
 spread, all the squadrons of spaḥis alighted from
 their horses one after another. Those, who were
 resolved to defend their chiefs, barricaded them-
 selves in houses, which the grand vizier having
 learned, he sent parties of janissaries to attack the
 different retreats of the rebels. The cannon, which
 were fired in the streets, at the risk of every thing
 that might happen, beat down walls almost all
 of wood: a number of these unfortunate persons
 preferred death to asking quarter. All those who
 threw themselves on the clemency of the van-
 quisher were granted their lives. The caimacan
 Mamout, Houffain, and eight others of those
 that were proscribed, died with their arms in their
 hands. The six who remained, being taken a-

J.C. 1599-
 Heg. 1007,
 & 1008.

Those,
 who at-
 tempt to
 defend
 their
 chiefs, are
 cut to
 pieces.
 Ten of the
 latter pe-
 rish in the
 action,
 and six are
 delivered
 to the exe-
 cutioner.

J.C. 1599.
Heg. 1007,
& 1008.

live, were publicly strangled. On this the spahis returned to their duty. The grand vizier had the late musti arrested, who, 'till then, had been closely watched. As he could not be put to death, he was deprived of his liberty and all his property, and conducted to an island in the Archipelago for the remainder of his days. The crime imputed to him, of having received thirty thousand sequins for proscribing the grand vizier, was never proved; but the emperor remained convinced of it. This insurrection, which had lasted but two days, cost however a great deal of blood. Other chiefs were given the spahis, and every thing seemed pacified at Constantinople; but this humbled cavalry retained a latent grudge against the janissaries: they fought by parties whenever they could find an opportunity, with white sticks, their ordinary arms in time of peace.

J.C. 1600.
Heg. 1008,
& 1009.

War in
Persia.

The sultan, willing to appease these troubles, sent all the spahis from Constantinople. A favorable occasion presented itself. The Persians had just sent troops to try to recover the province of Shirvan, which they had lost. The grand vizier advised his master to oppose only cavalry against the cavalry of the sophi; and as he had but a bad opinion of this war, he gave the command to Cigala, the captain bashaw, whom he had a long time hated: thus there was not a single spahi left at Constantinople; and whilst
the

the eastern empire was armed at the same time against Persia, the western empire, and the rebels of Asia; the emperor, Mahomet, remained in the bosom of pleasure, amidst his women and eunuchs, and the grand vizier Ali Affan governed in his place, reserving to himself the right of punishing the bashaws that commanded the armies. The power of this minister inebriated him soon to such a degree, that he treated with contempt all those that had best served him in the last sedition. All his art was employed to please the people and the privates of the janisfaries; but he soon became odious to the principal officers. What hurt him most was the authority of the sultaneß-mother, not because she governed badly, but on account of her pretending to govern without him. He undertook to get her banished, without considering that this woman, unfit for business, was more flexible and better formed for intrigues than himself; that the facility of seeing her son whenever she pleased, her address in flattering his caprices, and her long ascendancy which had never been contradicted, would always render a mother formidable to those that meditated her downfall. The vizier never spoke to the emperor but he complained of the faults of the sultaneß; and Mahomet faithfully related to his mother every thing that his minister had said to him. Timatkchi bashaw, the vizier of the bench who had been already condemned

J.C. 1600.
Heg. 1008,
& 1009.

J.C. 1600.
Heg. 1008,
& 1009.

Ali Affan
has several
great men
executed.

to death in the first sedition, and whom the aga of the janissaries had saved from being strangled, was executed, without any one but the vizier knowing for why; and, by a cruel ingratitude, Ali Affan had this same aga of the janissaries put to death under pretence of extortion, who had preserved him the seals and his life in the second insurrection. Cigala had been beaten in the Shirvan almost immediately on his arrival. Persuaded by his experience that a captain bashaw was not designed to command by land, he had asked and obtained his recall. Ali Affan thought to exculpate himself from the bad choice which he had made, by punishing him whom he ought not to have put to command an army. The sangiac of Diarbekar was ordered to have Cigala strangled as he passed through his government.

J.C. 1601.
Heg. 1009,
& 1010.

All these proscriptions were indifferent to the imbecile Mahomet; but his mother meditated seriously the destruction of a subaltern tyrant, who seemed to be trying his strength on the first heads of the state, only to demand her's with more certainty. The affection of the people, and of all the private janissaries, for this redoubtable vizier, rendered him only more odious to the bashaws and the valid sultaneſs. This was the pretext taken for his destruction. The muſti, the bashaws of the bench, and the kiſlar aga, assured the emperor that Ali Affan was endeavouring to make himself independent; and that,
after

after the example of Scrivan who had thrown off the yoke in Natolia, the vizier wanted to leave the emperor only the appearance of sovereignty. " Let your highness, said the kissar aga, but de-
 " mand of Ali Assan the seals of the empire, and
 " if all the janissaries don't instantly revolt, I'll
 " suffer death." This sort of defiance roused Mahomet. He sent instantly the capiggi pachi to demand the seals from the grand vizier. The latter did not dare refuse them; but, within an hour after the news of his deposition had been spread, all the odas of janissaries appeared in order of battle. They surrounded the lodgings of their aga, whom they knew to be the creature of the valid sultaness, and threatened aloud to tear him to pieces. The people were as displeased as the janissaries at the fall of Ali Assan. The deposed vizier did not appear; but the tumult was so great that the odas pachis, who were the officers of most consideration that had part in this rebellion, had the boldness to penetrate in a large number into the inner part of the seraglio; and having met only the capi aga, the bostangi pachi, and some other officers attached to the grand seignior, they declared to them that Mahomet must, for the safety of his crown, reinstate Ali Assan in his dignity. Luckily for Mahomet, the deposed grand vizier was as much hated by those that had power as beloved by the soldiery. The musti issued a fetva against Ali Assan and his

J.C. 1601.
 Heg. 1009,
 & 1010,

Ali Assan is
 deposed &
 strangled,
 spite of the
 protection
 of the ja-
 nissaries.

abettors

J.C. 1601.
Heg. 1009,
& 1000.

abettors. The money of the valid sultans, seasonably distributed, was as efficacious as the decisions of the chief of the law. For three days the janissaries, arranged in battle, seemed to wait for some one to put himself at their head. The seraglio was shut; no divan was held; and the administration of justice, even the markets, were interrupted. But no one had drawn his sword. The bashaws, who did not appear in public, drew over, by means of emissaries, the odas pachis one after another; they distributed money to them, and promised recompenses to those that should prevail on the troops to return to their duty. No officer of consequence appeared at the head of this sedition. Every one began to fear lest he should be thought to have excited it, and in consequence lose his head on a scaffold. As soon as one oda had disarmed, all the others hastened to follow this example. This insurrection cost no other blood than the grand vizier's, who, after having had so many great officers of the seraglio strangled, was strangled in his turn, as soon as Mahomet thought he might condemn him without danger.

J.C. 1602,
& 1603.
Heg. 1010,
& 1011.

The seals were given to Dhierra bashaw, who, brought up in the seraglio, had successively filled all the charges of the empire, and whose abilities, in the present state of affairs, procured him the place of grand vizier. He found the state agitated on so many sides, that he knew not which

way

way to direct his attention. The duke of Mer- J.C. 1602, & 1603. cœur had taken Albaregalis and beaten several Heg. 1010, & 1012. times the bashaw Mahomet in Hungary; but since the death of that prince, which happened in the moment when he thought to reap considerable advantage from his victory, the bashaw Mahomet had retaken Albaregalis and several other places of less importance. The archduke, Matthias, who had succeeded the Lor- rain prince, not being equally fortunate, the grand vizier, Dhierra, thought he might leave the Hungarian war to Mahomet bashaw. He marched against the rebel Scrivan, who was daily making new progress in Caramania. This usurper had taken Bursa in concert with the bashaws of Erzerum and Siwas. He declared publicly that he would free all Asia from the yoke of the Ottomans. Bursa, the ancient capital of the sultans, and the cradle of their power, was considerable and well fortified. Scrivan from thence issued his orders to all those who had acknowledged him for their deliverer. The two governors of Erzerum and Siwas, from his equals, were become his lieutenants, and they began to negotiate with Persia whose succours could advance the execution of their designs; but the subtle vizier found means to gain over Scrivan's friends. After having vanquished the bashaw of Siwas, he made use of a feigned lenity to the prisoners, who expected to be put to death as traitors; he

Dhierra, his successor, sends bashaws to command in Hungary and reserves himself to pacify Asia.

J.C. 1602, & 1603.
Heg. 1010, & 1012.

sent several of them to the bashaws of Erzerum and Siwas, promising them pardon, and even the favor of their master, if they would endeavour to make the revolted towns and soldiers return to their allegiance. He promised them the same for their chief, imposing on all three, for reparation of their fault, to go to the Hungarian war, after they should have given up the sangiacates of which they had purposed to make sovereignties. The two lieutenants, who saw they should be no greater in serving the usurper than they had been under their lawful master, seized the occasion offered of obtaining the abolition of a crime which might one day cost them their lives. They made at the same time their own conditions and their accomplice's. One of them obtained the sangiacate of Pristina, and the other that of Sophia; and Scrivan was told, when he thought himself still sovereign of Bursa, that the invincible sultan, his master, would give him the government of Bosnia; that he had no longer either troops or lieutenants in Asia; and that he must go to Hungary and fight against the house of Austria. Scrivan submitted to necessity, and the grand vizier thought he had acted wisely in having restored the empire half its Asiatic dominions on the point of being separated from it, tho' it were not prudent perhaps to oppose foreign enemies with traitors and turncoats. But under such a master as Mahomet, neither constancy, nor firmness, nor justice, could be expected.

He gains over the lieutenants of the rebel Scrivan, & Scrivan himself

He causes sangiacates to be given them in Europe.

expected. He was implacable to the weak only, and he yielded always to those that could resist him.

J.C. 1602,
& 1603.
Heg. 1010,
& 1012.

His love of every species of debauchery had so altered his health, that at ripe age he was quite decrepit. Mahomet, only thirty-seven years old, was the victim of all the disorders of his life: he had drawn on himself the contempt of this troop of women and eunuchs with whom he had indulged his indolence. One of the sultaneſſes, the mother of the eldeſt of the princes, ſeeing her credit diminiſh with her charms, envied that of the valid ſultaneſs. A ſon, ſeventeen years old, brought up, like all the emperor's children, in the ſeraglio of Conſtantinople, and who was particularly fond of his mother, promiſed her unbounded authority, if he ever came to the throne, which Mahomet appeared no longer capable of filling. The ambitious Fatma (that was the name of the ſultaneſs) nourished in the heart of the preſumptive heir an impatience of reigning, which the young, imprudent prince took no care of diſſembling. He ſaid, rather publicly, that, if Mahomet ſunk ſoon under his diſeaſes, or the ſceptre ſhould eſcape from his hands, he would take care to repair the errors of a reign which was nothing but an anarchy; that he would make the Ottoman arms be reſpected, and that he would not divide the government of the empire with thoſe who had endeavoured to overturn it. At this very time Conſtantinople was af-

J.C. 1602,
& 1603.
Heg. 1010.
& 1012.

stricken with a famine. The people cried that the depredations of the ministers and the incapacity of the master were the cause of their sufferings.

The young prince's seditious discourses resounded throughout the seraglio; they were soon carried to the emperor, who discerned in them, or fancied that he discerned, the impressions of the sultaneſs Fatma. More sanguinary than his father Amurath, who, on ſimilar ſuſpicions had contented himſelf with keeping his ſon at a diſtance from the ſoldiers and all who might have incited a revolt, Mahomet ſaw in his ſon a factious rival only, whom he could eaſily cruſh; he condemned him to be ſtrangled, and the order was executed without any one's attempting to defend this prince yet too young to have been able to form himſelf a party. Fatma, his mother and only accomplice, was thrown living into the ſea, incloſed in a leather ſack. Thus Mahomet ſtifled love and nature; and having nothing to fear from what ſurrounded him, he choſe rather to put to death culprits that ſhould have been dear to him, than to curb them, though he could have done it with ſo much eaſe.

The famine, which had deſolated Conſtantineple for ſeveral months, was followed by a dreadful plague, occaſioned by the pernicious aliments which the multitude, through neceſſity, had been conſtrained to make uſe of, and by the infection from the dead bodies. The emperor, whoſe powers were exhausted, and whoſe ſhattered
constitution

The emperor puts to death his eldeſt ſon and his favorite ſultaneſs.

constitution could no longer sustain the effects of the disease, sunk under this scourge which he had once resisted. Mahomet was thirty-seven years old when he died in December 1603. He had reigned nine years and several months. The good fortune of the Ottoman empire preserved it from one part of the calamities which might have been expected from such an incapable prince, and those which his ministers might have committed in his name. The Hungarian wars, and the frequent revolts in Asiatic Turkey, were not so fatal as might have been expected. Those, who attentively examine the fate of empires, see that, in the complicated concatenation of secondary causes, talents or incapacity, virtues or vices, have not always their full effect; and that he, who regulates every thing here below, acts often independently of the men whom he has designed to be the instruments of his power.

J.C. 1602,
& 1603.
Heg. 1010,
& 1012.
Death of
Mahomet.

A C H M E T I.

FOURTEENTH REIGN.

ACHMET I. was only fifteen years old when he came to the empire. This was the first time that so young a prince had reigned in Turkey. He was less cruel, but not less absolute, than either of his predecessors. Mahomet had left

J.C. 1602, left but two sons; at least the people knew only
& 1603.
Heg. 1010, Mustapha brother to Achmet. The new em-
& 1012.

peror, either through a repugnancy for the barbarous custom of his ancestors, or a wish to secure the Ottoman race, which no longer subsisted but in two shoots, would not put him to death. It was necessary to distribute money to the troops on his accession to the throne; Achmet fulfilled this usage with the treasures heaped up by the sultane's his grand-mother. After having thus seized on all the fruits of her oppressions, the emperor sent this valid to the old seraglio, where she enjoyed for the rest of her life a very moderate pension only, without any minister, or other person whatsoever, except the eunuchs, being permitted to have any correspondence with her.

Achmet
confiscates
the riches
of the valid
his grand-
mother and
confines
her in the
old se-
raglio.

J.C. 1604.
Heg. 1013. Achmet I. had possessed the throne but a few months before the grand vizier, Dhierra, died.

He ap-
points a
grand vi-
sier against
the will of
the valid
sultane's
his mo-
ther. The young monarch chose neither of those that surrounded him to fill this important office. He would fain divide the cares of the empire with him of his subjects whom renown pointed out as the most worthy. Murad, bashaw of Grand Cairo, in the middle of the troubles of the last reign, had kept all the African dominions in the most profound peace, and had faithfully transmitted the imposts to the public treasury, without oppressing the people or enriching himself. Achmet sent the seals to this faithful servant at the extremity of Egypt, and

ordered

ordered him to repair to Constantinople as soon as possible. This choice of an old man, sage and full of experience, made by a prince of fifteen years old, notwithstanding the solicitations of all the bashaws and the prayers of the sultaneſs-mother, who, aiming at the ſame credit as the laſt valid, had propoſed a grand vizier to her ſon: this choice, and the firmneſs with which it was ſupported, announced to the whole empire that Achmet was determined to make the ſceptre be reſpected in his hands. Notwithſtanding theſe promiſing commencements, ſome bashaws thought they had choſen a favorable moment for throwing off the yoke, when a child held the reins of the empire. Calender, bashaw of Erzerum, and Calil, bashaw of Aleppo, offered Shah Abbas, the ſophi of Perſia, the homage of their bashawcies, which they hoped to be able to hold in ſovereignty under his crown.

When the news of this revolt arrived at Constantinople, the emperor was juſt fallen ſick of the ſmall-pox. The grand vizier, Murad, whoſe preſence was highly neceſſary in the divan, ſent the captain bashaw, Cialis, againſt the rebels. The example of Cigala in Perſia proved the impropriety of trying, on ſuch an important occaſion, the talents of a general who had never commanded, nor perhaps ſerved by land; but the preſumptuous Cialis ſolicited this employ, which he juſtly conſidered as the ſecond in the empire.

J.C. 1604.
Heg. 1013.

J.C. 1605,
& 1606.
Heg. 1014,
& 1015.

He falls
ſick of the
ſmall pox.
Revolt of
ſome ba-
ſhaws.

J.C. 1605, empire. This was the man whom the sultaneſs
& 1606.
Heg. 1014, had in vain propoſed to her ſon for grand vizier.
& 1015.

Murad, who governed during the illneſs of the emperor, ſeeing that the valid ſultaneſs ſupported the requeſt of the captain baſhaw, durſt not preſume to thwart her choice, becauſe ſhe was likewise the mother of Muſtapha the brother of Achmet, who would ſucceed to the throne, in caſe of the emperor's death. Cialiſ was therefore permitted to march againſt the rebels. Their audacity was ſuſtained by a powerful reinforcement of Perſians. The baſhaw of Erzerum had already gotten poſſeſſion of Antioch, Damascus, and Tripoli, and ſtiled himſelf deſpot of Syria. The ſophi Eſcheref, ſon and ſucceſſor of Shah Abbas, had ſent an ambaffador to him with letters which treated this rebel as ſovereign.

The captain baſhaw, Cialiſ, was conſtantly beaten during the whole campaign, though at the head of a hundred and twenty thouſand men of the beſt troops of the empire; ſo that after having loſt in three battles more than half his army with much ground, he was obliged to fall back into Caramania, where he pitched his camp. To add to the miſfortune, the rebel's petty fleet took ſome ſhips which were carrying the impoſts from Egypt to Conſtantinople. This new miſfortune might likewise be imputed to Cialiſ, who, as captain baſhaw, ſhould have diſpoſed the convoys ſo as to ſecure a ſafe paſſage for the revenues

The captain baſhaw is beaten, gives ground, & ſuffers the fleet with the impoſts from Egypt to be taken.

revenues of the empire. Achmet, enraged to see his arms in such wretched hands, and to suffer so many losses by the fault of one man, recalled Cialis to give an account of his conduct. The captain bashaw left the army, tormented with the greatest inquietude. His only hope was in the valid sultaness; but the latter was far from having that authority over her son which the mother of Mahomet had assumed over hers. Before Cialis was near Constantinople, a sangiac had orders to have him strangled. All the captain bashaw's property was confiscated. Though considerable, it was insufficient to indemnify the state for the tributes which the rebels had seized on, still less for the men and land which this bad general had lost.

J.C. 1505,
& 1606.
Heg. 1014,
& 1015.

Achmet
has him
strangled.

These losses induced Achmet to conclude a peace with Rodolph emperor of the West. The affairs of the Porte were much better in Europe than in Asia, on account of the western empire's being divided by Lutheranism, the subjects having taken up arms against this monarch. The novators demanded the free exercise of their religion, granted by Maximilian and Ferdinand, and contested by Rodolph. They became still greater enemies of their country than the Mussulmen; and whilst Bostcaie, a Transylvanian gentleman, elected waywode of that province by a powerful party, made himself master of several places in upper Hungary, Achmet, who had ap-

The grand
seignior
seeks to
make peace
with the
Germans,
who have
just termi-
nated their
own inter-
sine dis-
sentions by
the peace
of Vienna.

J.C. 1605,
& 1606.
Heg. 1014,
& 1015.

proved of the election of Bostcaie, and had received his oath as sovereign paramount, sent bashaws with a few troops to make conquests which caused scarcely any thing more than displacing garrisons. In this manner the Turks made themselves masters of Neustadt, Presburg, and Neuhausel. They hoped to recover Raab with the same facility ; but, notwithstanding the reunion of all their forces, they lost a number of men before that place and were obliged to raise the siege. The Germans soon reflected on the fatal consequences of their divisions : sensible of the folly of thus destroying one another, they desired peace ; and Rodolph, for the interest of his crown and that of his subjects, consented to give way to them the 2d of June in the year 1606. The emperor, the deputies of upper and lower Hungary, and Bostcaie, waywode of Transylvania, consented to a celebrated treaty, called the pacification of Vienna. The emperor therein confirmed and acknowledged the laws and immunities of the kingdom of Hungary. The Lutherans and Calvinists obtained the free exercise of their religion ; and Bostcaie was confirmed waywode of Transylvania. To render this peace more solid, an association was made with the kingdom of Bohemia, and with Silesia and Moldavia. All these people seemed interested in knowing no other enemies than the Mussulmen.

Achmet,

Achmet, who wanted peace as much as Ro-
 dolph, sought the mediation of the waywode
 Bostcaie. This prince procured a conference
 near Comorra, a strong town in upper Hungary.
 A camp was pitched at some distance from that
 town, where the plenipotentiaries of the two
 empires repaired with equal escorts. As the two
 parties equally wished to disarm, they were soon
 of a mind. This treaty contains fourteen ar-
 ticles, of which we shall give the substance.
 First, that the emperor Rodolph shall give the
 Mussulman prince the title of son, and that Achmet
 shall give the Christian monarch that of father ;
 secondly, that both shall reciprocally stile them-
 selves emperors ; thirdly, that the two monarchs
 shall mutually see that there be no more hostilities
 of any kind, either in Hungary or the other
 states ; fourthly, that the king of Spain shall be
 received into their respective alliance if he wish
 so to be ; fifthly, that the Tartars shall be in-
 cluded in the pacification, and that the Ottoman
 monarch shall be answerable for any infringements
 which they may make therein ; sixthly, that
 the two nations shall be able, by observing the
 peace, to fall on the Turkish or German free-
 booters or corsairs, without the nation to which
 the corsair shall belong, being able to consider
 this just proceeding as an infringement of treaty ;
 seventhly, that the towns, fortresses, and castles,
 shall be guaranteed on both sides from all sur-
 prises

J.C. 1605.
 & 1606.
 Heg. 1014.
 & 1015.

Treaty of
 peace con-
 cluded at
 Comorra
 between
 the Ger-
 mans and
 Turks.

J.C. 1605,
& 1606.
Heg. 1014,
& 1015.

prises or attempts, as well as the countries and territories dependant thereon, without the least act of hostility's being committed, under pretence of shortness of time or of the trenches' not having been opened;* eighthly, that Bostcaie shall continue waywode of Transylvania, and that all the prisoners shall be given up on both sides; ninthly, that all disputes shall be decided by the four nearest bashaws and governors of the places where they shall arise, to wit, two Turks and two Germans; that if these chiefs cannot agree, they shall be reported to the two emperors; tenthly, that the two monarchs shall respectively send ambassadors to each other charged with presents; eleventhly, that this truce shall last twenty years, counting from the first day of the year 1607, on condition that the monarchs, every three years, shall mutually send one another ambassadors; twelfthly, that this treaty shall bind in like manner the successors of the two monarchs, whether they be in a direct or collateral line from the two contracting princes; thirteenthly, that the town of Vaccia shall be remitted to the emperor of the West, and that that of Gran shall be ceded to the emperor of the East, upon condition that the taxes and imposts shall not be augmented in the

two

* This article proscribed a custom of the Turks and of all the other Mussulmen, who thought they had a right to take any town in the midst of peace, provided the siege did not last above two days. T.

two towns, and that the inhabitants shall preserve the free exercise of their religion and respective privileges ; fourteenthly, that the Turks shall not exact their tributes by open force, but by the course of justice ; that they shall appoint officers to govern, both in the towns and villages ; and that no act of violence shall be committed but by their order, and only against those who shall have infringed the laws.

J.C. 1605,
& 1606.
Heg. 1014,
& 1015.

This treaty, written in both languages, was first signed by the plenipotentiaries, and afterward by the two monarchs. It caused much joy in Hungary, which for many years had been groaning under oppression, and had suffered all the calamities of war. Achmet I. went publicly to return thanks to God. This was not the only treaty concluded with the Christians in the course of the year 1606. The French ambassador, protector by birth of all the Franks that had no minister at Constantinople, had complained a long time that the ancient treaties were not well observed ; that the commerce with the West, so necessary for the Turkish empire, was disordered every day by the avidity of the officers of the customs and the rapacity of the corsairs, particularly of Tripoli, Algiers, and Tunis ; that there was no longer any safety in the seas, or even in the ports, for those that brought stuffs, wares, and all sorts of instruments, from Europe, which the Mussulmen knew not how to procure ; that,

far

J.C. 1605, far from the industry of the Franks being paid
 & 1606.
 Heg. 1014, and encouraged, as it merited, bad treatment and
 & 1015.
 { habitual grievances drove away every day these
 active merchants, who had hoped for a fair
 return for all the troubles and innumerable dan-
 gers which they had been obliged to brave. Mr.
 Debreves, for he was still the ambassador from
 France, prosecuted two other subjects of com-
 plaint for the good of all Christendom. The
 people, and especially the janissaries, frequently
 insulted the priests and monks that inhabited
 Galata and Pera. The pilgrims were aggrieved
 that went to Jerusalem to visit the Holy places.
 The immense sums which the bashaws exacted
 from these Christians, constrained the richest to
 beg on their return; and when, reduced to the
 greatest misery, they sought their subsistence by the
 roads, often were they taken up as vagabonds,
 and dragged into slavery, where they perished
 through ill treatment. The name of Henry IV.
 and the attention of the French ambassador;
 remedied all these disorders. This minister,
 worthy of the master whom he represented, con-
 cluded a new treaty, contained in fifty-five ar-
 ticles, of which we shall content ourselves with
 giving the substance.

Treaty
 between
 France and
 the Turks.

The first thing therein regulated was the pre-
 cedency of the French ambassador over all the
 other Christian powers, so that this minister, at
 Constantinople, does not even give place to that
 of

of the emperor. The free exercise of the Christian religion and the security of the churches in the quarter of the Franks were next confirmed. J.C. 1605.
& 1606.
Heg. 1014.
& 1015.

The liberty of the pilgrimage of Jerusalem was assured, and exempted in future from all vexations. The safety of commerce was established, by fixing the customs on the merchandise alone, and abolishing the extortions introduced on the merchants at their coming in and going out of the ports, for themselves, their vessels, and crews.

This treaty received its sanction in a public audience, which the grand seignior gave the ambassador of France, in which he charged him with letters for Henry IV. full of marks of esteem and kindness.

Meanwhile the bashaw of Erzerum, the pretended despot of Syria, extended his conquests almost without striking a blow. He had laid the principal towns of Caramania under contribution, and would have penetrated as far as the straits of Gallipoli, if the grand vizier had not taken the field with sixty thousand men. Murad bashaw successfully opposed the rebel's progress. He depended infinitely more on the address of his negotiations than on the strength of his arms. And indeed the Asiatics, fond of novelties, were as easy to be brought back to their lawful master, as they had been to join the usurper. Murad bashaw sent every where before him spies and secret emissaries, who penetrated into the towns and

J.C. 1607. and offered the sangiacs, established by the pre-
 Heg. 1016.

tended prince of Syria, and even to the troops whom they commanded, not only a pardon, but to some the favor of a more powerful monarch. The gates of the strongest towns were opened at the approach of the sultan's army. As the garrisons came and ranged themselves under the standard of Murad bashaw, the grand vizier found himself at the head of those whom he was come to fight. He arrived with a hundred and fifty thousand men within a little distance of Erzerum. The usurper had no more than forty thousand fighting men, with which he had the assurance to withstand the army of his master that was more than twice as strong as his own. Having chosen an advantageous camp in the space left between the troops of the grand vizier and the town, it became necessary for Murad to prepare to attack Calender therein. The usurper defended himself three days with incredible courage. After having lost more than thirty thousand men, he thought it high time to look to his own safety. Whilst his remaining soldiers were fighting in retreat, Calender gained Erzerum in order to seize all the gold kept there, after which he took the road to Persia. The grand vizier,

The rebel Calender is vanquished by the grand vizier, who afterward gains him over to his master, and persuades him to go and solicit his pardon.

who admired the valour of this rebel, and who believed him to possess inexhaustible resources, attempted to gain him over, as he had done all the sangiacs of his party. Calender had seen

under

under the last reign Scrivan, an usurper like <sup>J.C. 1607.
Heg. 1016.</sup> himself of the government intrusted to him, return to his allegiance, and become peaceably bashaw of Bosnia. This example induced him to listen to Murad's proposals, on the assurance which the grand vizier gave him in writing, that he should be pardoned, if he would go and throw himself at the emperor's feet. Calender disbanded all his troops, after having procured them a general amnesty; he then placed himself at the head of a hundred horse only, and peaceably crossed all the country that he had raised into rebellion. His fight and discourse did not contribute a little to the bringing back of these provinces to their allegiance, or at least to confirm them therein. On his arrival at Constantinople, he desired to see the emperor. This rebel was admitted to the public audience of Achmet, just as the ambassador of a great monarch would have been. He had fastened to his turban the grand vizier's written promise of safety for his person and property. Calender, being come to the foot of the throne, after the customary ceremonies, addressed the monarch with a respect mixed with firmness: he said, among other things, to the sultan, that he remitted Syria to his power and direction, and that he had pretended to govern that province, only when he thought his master too young to support the weight of it. Achmet, who had had one of his generals stran-

J.C. 1607.
Heg. 1016.

Achmet I.
grants it
him, and
makes him
bashaw of
Temeswar.
Calender
retains the
imposts,
and is
justly
strangled.

gled for having fled before Calender, faithfully fulfilled the engagements contracted with this rebel; he even gave him the government of Temeswar in Europe, but Calender did not long possess it. The very first year of his administration, he refused to send all the money that he had gathered in his sangiacate to Constantinople; and as he had not at Temeswar the same authority and resources which had rendered him so formidable at Aleppo, the capiggi pachi went, without any other forces than four of his men, to strangle, in the middle of the troops and in his palace, him who, two years before, had made war with his master.

J.C. 1608.
Heg. 1017.

Murad
overruns
Asia with
his army,
and pacifies
the pro-
vinces al-
most with-
out strik-
ing a blow.

Though the example of Calender had restored order in a great many of the Asiatic provinces, there were yet remaining in Caramania three rebels, who were to be looked upon as more formidable because they were fortunate. They were called Bulad, Massi, and Jousef. All three had troops in their pay, and stiled themselves sovereigns feudatory to Persia. The old vizier, Murad, who knew the value of human blood better than any other Ottoman, undertook to destroy these usurpers by one another. After having wintered in Syria, he marched his formidable army into the provinces occupied by the rebels, avoiding the fortified places in which they were themselves, and the approach of their army. The country which he over-ran was soon brought under

under subjection. When the fangiacs, who obeyed the rebels, looked as if they would resist, J.C. 1608.
Heg. 1017. Murad proposed to them to become officers of the great Ottoman monarch, rather than the accomplices of a rebel whose downfall was certain. The gates every where were thrown open to an army that was not an enemy: all received the commissions of the emperor Achmet, and prevailed on the people to side with the strongest. On the arrival of the grand vizier at Cogni, which held for Bulad, he reduced the fangiac of that town, as he had all the others, and received from this traitor offers of the most important services against the man whom 'till then he had considered as his master. This fellow, who had never been any thing higher than a subaltern in the spahis, had been made fangiac by Bulad on account of his great credit with the people. The grand vizier, feigning to give him his confidence all at once, asked how many soldiers he could furnish him for an attack by surprise: the fangiac of Cogni replied with a presumptuous tone that, if his secret were kept, he was certain of assembling a fortnight after, in a place which he mentioned, thirty thousand men well armed and ready to do every thing that he should command them. The grand vizier affected a great deal of satisfaction at this offer; but the fangiac had no sooner left him, than Murad sent after him four

VOL. II. M m 2 capiggis,

J.C. 1608. capiggis, who strangled him before he was out
 Heg. 1017. of the palace.

Meanwhile, Bulad learned at Tiagna, where he had fixed his residence, the death of his lieutenant of Cogni, and of Calender strangled at Temeswar. These news convinced him of the necessity of looking to his own safety; but not thinking himself strong enough to resist a numerous army, and being afraid to trust to the grand vizier, who was far from being so merciful as he wished to appear, Bulad resolved to flee into Persia. Murad learned this design by intercepted letters from Bulad to Masli his accomplice. The grand vizier, though a very old man, feared neither fatigues nor dangers; he resolved to stop Bulad in his way, hoping that the head of this rebel, if he could send it to his master, would save a great many soldiers. Murad left the command of his army to his desterdar aga, and hastened with the choice of his spahis to lay wait for Bulad in a defilé. He arrived there escorted by twelve hundred horse. The grand vizier, who had three thousand spahis concealed behind some rocks, surprised the rebel on his march; his twelve hundred horse made sufficient resistance to render the battle very bloody; almost all perished in defending Bulad and his fortune: for this rebel had depended greatly on some precious stones of great value, and a considerable quantity of gold which he was carrying to the king of Persia. The old
 general

general had Bulad strangled as he lay wounded on the field of battle, after which he carefully took possession of all these riches, without abandoning the smallest part to the troopers who had seized them.

J.C. 1608.
Heg. 1017.

The grand vizier has Bulad put to death.

On his return to the army, he received orders from the Porte to march against the sophi. The courtiers who surrounded Achmet had raised in him such a mistrust of this vizier, who was confirming his authority in Asia, that the emperor was ready to confound Murad with the rebels whom he was repressing. Achmet recalled by the same order all Murad's lieutenants, and sent other officers in their place, less to obey this general than to have an eye upon his conduct. This prime minister perceived his master's injustice; but he was neither less zealous nor less intrepid in his service. He easily comprehended that the divan had decided on a war against Persia only because he had different projects. Murad, at eighty-six years of age, shewed that indifference for life which years give old men, when their souls are not enfeebled thereby. He resolved to apply all his talents and attention to the service of the state, let what would be the consequence. He wrote his master a letter, which the historian Naima effendi has preserved us, and of which the following is a translation.

He receives orders from the emperor to march against Persia.

"Those, who surround your highness, persuade you that your greatest enemies are in Persia ;

Letter from Murad to his master.

" but

J.C. 1608. " but I will venture to assure you that they are
 Heg. 1017. " in your own dominions, and perhaps around
 " your throne. If your highness pursue the
 " sophi, and leave in peace in Caramania those
 " that still stile themselves feudatories of that
 " prince, the number of subjects which I have
 " brought back to your obedience in Asia, will
 " soon return to that of the rebels. I have en-
 " deavoured to beat down the heads and re-
 " store you the hands that have been wrested
 " from your highness's service. There are still
 " remaining two dangerous rebels, Masli and
 " Jousef: it is these, without doubt, who under-
 " hand are the occasion of your being urged to
 " undertake a war with the Persians. If your
 " highness will permit me, I will chastise these
 " two rebels and spare their soldiers. At all
 " events, I will march your army towards Scu-
 " tari, and not towards Persia. Your highness
 " will judge, and give me your orders, which I
 " will faithfully execute, when they shall come
 " from your mouth. The rest of my life is at
 " my emperor's service, which he will dispose of
 " according to his powerful will and pleasure."

This letter having reached Constantinople several weeks before the vizier, had all the effect that he had expected from it. The emperor not only shewed him no ill will for his pretended disobedience, but even imposed silence on the enemies of this faithful servant, who, having en-
 camped

camped at Scutari the major part of his troops, made his entry into Constantinople as in triumph. J.C. 1608.
Heg. 1017.

They carried before him four hundred pair of colours taken from the rebels, and the heads of all the chiefs that he had had put to death. 'Murad, in the first audience that he had of his master, was treated with great honors. Achmet had him clothed with a robe of gold cloth richly furred, and the emperor fastened himself to his turban a magnificent egret of diamonds, which were part of the jewels that the grand vizier had just remitted him. He conducts his army to Scutari, makes his entrance into Constantinople, and is well received by the emperor.

Meanwhile, the captain bashaw, the caimacan, the musti, the kislar aga, and all the enemies of the grand vizier, who durst not openly attack him, undertook to ruin him secretly, by accusing those who had enjoyed his confidence. The defterdar aga, whom Murad had brought to his army to be at the same time treasurer and lieutenant, had thrown into the public treasury all the gold taken from Bulad, and all the imposts which the towns returned to their obedience had consented to pay to their lawful master. The enemies of the grand vizier, never conceiving it possible to abstain from pillaging when it was in a man's power, thought that by accusing the defterdar of having dissipated a great deal of this money, that officer would be constrained in his turn to make his commander responsible for the sums which he should have let him take. On the

He discovers the artifice of his enemies, and returns to the camp.

J.C. 1608.
Heg. 1017.

the accusation being made in open divan, the grand vizier was the first to demand that the defterdar should be conducted to the prison of the Seven Towers, and that all the bashaws of the bench and all the other defterdars should inspect his accounts. The nicest examination could not discover the least collusion or the smallest error. The accused officer came out of the castle of the Seven Towers, to continue the exercise of his charge; and the emperor's confidence in the prime minister did but increase. The vizier, after having calmed all these storms, and obtained his master's approbation of the conduct which he meant to follow, returned to his troops encamped at Scutari, fully determined to destroy the remaining rebels.

J.C. 1609.
Heg. 1018.

Manner in which he punishes the rebels Masli and Jousef.

It was reported abroad that Murad was preparing to march against Persia. The grand vizier wrapped up his designs in a cloak of mystery, says the historian Naima; and as he knew no one more culpable than Masli and Jousef, he descended to a stratagem in order to draw these two lions into the nets which he spread for them. Masli was lurking with some thousands of freebooters in the arid mountains which border on Caramania. The hamlets, so rare in these countries, look more like haunts of thieves than towns. This country, which they call Itchili, contains no other riches than some pastures proper for horses, and these horses carried Masli's soldiers
into

into those parts of Caramania where there was booty. The grand vizier, Murad, at the head of his army in Asia, vainly endeavoured to draw Masli towards him. On his arrival at Scutari, he wrote to the bashaw of Caramania to try again what he, the grand vizier, had not been able to execute. He promised this officer the rank of vizier or bashaw of the bench, if, by favoring his feint, he enticed this rebel to him, whom he wanted to force in the inaccessible places which served him as a retreat. The bashaw of Caramania sent the patent of sangiac of Itchili to Masli. He said he had just received it for him from the Porte, and that he could not help approving his conduct, since it procured him the favor of the emperor. "Without doubt," wrote this bashaw to Masli, "the old grand vizier, to whom a weak master leaves all the government, is going to let us rule our provinces as we will; we shall be less governors than tributary sovereigns. In such favorable circumstances, it will be right for us to be on good terms. We must see one another in order to act in concert. The sangiac of Itchili should have a correspondence with the bashaw of Caramania: come and see us, and we will intrust our common interests to no one but ourselves."

Meanwhile, the grand vizier himself undertook to deceive Jousef. This rebel, more audacious

J.C. 1609.
Heg. 1018.

than Massi, had penetrated into Natolia, entered Magnesia, and stiled himself despot tributary to the sopher. Murad wrote him a letter full of affection, in which he reproached him with his foolish conduct. "How can you suppose," said he to him, "that Natolia can continue to be held of the Persian empire? Measure the distance from Magnesia to Constantinople, and from Magnesia to Ispahan, do you think you can destroy the Ottoman empire founded on so much riches and glory? My son, do you no longer remember the time when you were under my command in Egypt? Your youth announced talents and valour. Would you turn against yourself what should one day render you illustrious and happy? Our powerful emperor has ordered me to conduct to Magnesia the army which we intend against Persia. I have prevailed on him to defer it: I would rather gain you over than lose you. You shall hear the advice of my old age. Come to my camp at Scutari, and you shall receive kindnesses instead of the chastisement you merit. Achmet wishes to prevail on you to serve him. He will not refuse you the government of Magnesia; you may depend on it; but you will hold it of the Ottoman sceptre; and, from a rebel deserving punishment as you are at present, you will become one of the firmest pillars of the throne. You should be thankful

" to

“ to your master, (who can oppose you with two <sup>J.C. 1609.
Heg. 1018.</sup> hundred thousand men,) for making you these offers.” This letter threw Jousef into the greatest perplexity. Not thinking himself sufficiently strong to resist the Ottoman army, if the Persians did not come to his assistance, he thought it would be more advantageous to obtain one of the finest governments in the empire, than to sustain longer a war which sooner or later would prove fatal to him. On the other hand, his partisans persuaded him against trusting to the grand vizier, who had already put to death Calender, Bulad, the sangiac of Cogni, and several others, who were no more culpable than Jousef. “ Natolia is large,” said they to him; “ if we have not men enough to resist the Ottoman forces, regular troops don’t mind forced marches. A general may defend himself against a great army, by choosing his camps, and keeping at a distance from the enemy.” After long debates, Jousef, who had been touched by the caresses of the old vizier; who remembered likewise that Bulad had perished in arms; that Calender had been punished, only for having behaved ill in his new government, obtained after having made his peace; at length, chose the side to which he had always inclined. After having promised his followers to have them included in the amnesty which he was about to obtain for himself, he repaired with a small re-

J.C. 1609.
Heg. 1018.

tinue to the camp at Scutari. The grand vizier received him with every demonstration of joy; he even conducted him to Constantinople, where the grand seignior had the generosity to admit this repenting rebel to the honor of kissing the foot of his throne. It was rumoured that Jousef was going to be made bashaw of Natolia. One may well suppose with what eye the courtiers and principal officers of the troops beheld the first dignities of the empire distributed to those that had merited the severest chastisement. The clamours were renewed against Murad; but the emperor would hear nothing. The commission of bashaw of Natolia, residing at Magnesia, was made out for Jousef. The grand vizier, who had him lodged in his tents, and who appeared unable to do without him, retarded his departure under different pretexts. He consulted with him on the Persian war. One day as they were alone together, both apparently occupied with state affairs, they announced to the grand vizier a capiggi who came from Caramania, and who had brought a box from the bashaw of that province. Murad, suspecting the object of this message, made a pretext for dismissing Jousef. As soon as he was alone he opened the box, in which he found the embalmed head of Masli the rebel. The bashaw of Caramania wrote the grand vizier, that having enticed this chief of the rebels to Cogni, under pretence of taking measures with him

him to become his accomplice, he had caused him to be strangled in secret, and had published that Maſſi died of an apoplexy; that ſince that, not one of his lieutenants had dared put himſelf at the head of his party, which was diſperſing of itſelf. The old vizier ſaw the inſtant favorable for extinguishing every ſpark of this rebellion. He invited Jouſef to dine with him the next day, and as ſoon as he perceived him at a diſtance, he ſaid to him: “ Your wiſhes ſhall be
 “ fulfilled, my ſon; you are no longer neceſſary
 “ here. We are going to ſeparate. However
 “ painful this may be to me, I voluntarily con-
 “ ſent to it, ſince it is the intereſt of our ſublime
 “ emperor that demands it.” Jouſef, who would rather go and govern Natolia than continue in the vizier’s camp without authority though in apparent favor, received theſe news with joy. He placed himſelf at table; but the grand vizier having gone out for a moment under ſome pretence, thoſe who remained in the tent told the pretended baſhaw that he muſt inſtantly ſay his prayers and die. It was uſeleſs for him to aſk to ſee Murad, and complain of his perfidy. The followers of the grand vizier executed the orders which they had received with great promptitude and ſeverity. As ſoon as Jouſef was ſtrangled, his head was cut off and expoſed, with that of Maſſi, in the moſt conſpicuous place of the camp, a chiau crying aloud: “ Thus ſhall all
 “ thoſe

J.C. 1609.
 Heg. 1018.

J.C. 1609. "those be treated who shall dare forget the
 Heg. 1018. "power of our sublime monarch." This manner of punishing was little worthy of the supreme power, and one might accuse of treachery the minister who had made use of it. But Murad did not think himself bound to keep his word with rebels who had been the first to break their oaths. He employed this mean as that which would cost least blood and soonest re-establish tranquility in the provinces.

J.C. 1610.
 Heg. 1019.

The war with Persia is resolved on against the advice of the grand vizier Murad.

This tranquility was scarcely felt, before preparations for a foreign war were begun. The Ottomans were then at peace with Europe. The archduke Matthias, become king of Hungary in the life time of the emperor Rodolph his brother, had sent ambassadors to the Porte to renew the alliances between the two powers. This made Achmet, and particularly the divan, more earnest for war. He would fain recover Bagdad, a town of Irac, very convenient for commerce, and which the Persians had found means to get possession of in the middle of their bad success. The grand vizier was far from being so fond of war as his master and those that composed the divan. His age and experience made him consider an expedition against Persia, as the most dangerous and the least advantageous of any that could be undertaken. But he was obliged to give way to the torrent, or rather to the emperor's orders, who, though full of confidence in his grand vizier,

zier, was not less absolute. Murad took for lieutenant Nasuf bashaw, an active, enterprising man, who had acquired great riches in different sangiacates. His ambition not being satisfied, he had wheedled himself into the grand vizier's favor, hoping that the part which he should take in the government, would furnish him with the means of seizing the reins, and of soon succeeding this old minister. The army marched from Scutari for the frontiers of the Shirvan; it was to be increased, as it advanced, to the number of two hundred thousand men. The grand vizier, who always thought his troops would suffer soon enough, did not press this march; every thing was a pretext for halting. In five months the army had hardly reached the Diarbekar. Nasuf bashaw, who had only one object and one hope, thought he could turn this slowness to his own advantage. He wrote secretly to the Porte, that the age of Murad rendered him incapable of the fatigues of war; that his repugnance for that which he had commenced, presaged inevitable disgraces, if he were permitted to continue the command. Nasuf offered the emperor thirty thousand sequins in ready money, and a like sum the following year for the expence of the necessary supplies, if his highness would make him grand vizier in the place of Murad. The sultan, who had a sense of gratitude and esteem for his minister, sent him Nasuf's letter, leaving him absolute

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Heg. 1019.

He departs
at the
head of the
troops, and
keeps them
a long time
on the
march.

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Heg. 1019.

absolute master of the fate of this lieutenant, either to make him grand vizier or a mazul, or even to have him strangled. Murad shewed his friends Nasuf's letter to the grand seignior, and that which this prince had written to him with it. All accused the lieutenant of ingratitude and treachery. Every one agreed that Nasuf bashaw deserved death. Murad having sent to order him to his tent, said to him on his arrival with a severe tone: "Do you know this writing?" "It is mine," replied the bashaw, not yet knowing the contents of the paper. "You have then written this letter to the emperor?" continued the grand vizier. Nasuf, confounded, made no reply. "Have you now in your possession the thirty thousand sequins that you promise the emperor?" Nasuf replied in the affirmative. On this, Murad ordered the desterdar to go and take this sum in Nasuf's tent, and return with the bashaw immediately on having received it. This order being quickly executed, the desterdar and the bashaw reappeared. The latter, who was afraid of being strangled, would fain attempt to justify himself, or rather descend to entreaties; but Murad, interrupting him, said: "Since you think yourself better able to command the army than I am, I remit you the charge of it and the seals of the empire, become too weighty for my age. I make you grand vizier, agreeably to the powers

He resigns
the seals of
the empire
to his
lieutenant
Nasuf.

“ powers that I have received from our power-
 “ ful emperor. Be faithful to him: may your
 “ arms be victorious!” He immediately assembled the army, and proclaimed his successor himself. The new grand vizier marched the army towards Tauris. Murad remained in the Diarbekar; he went and ended his days in the capital of that province. This minister had served his master and country usefully; he died at eighty-nine years of age, several months after having resigned the seals of the empire.

His successor, who had shewn so much impatience to try the Ottoman arms with those of the Persians, lost all his activity as soon as he found himself at the head of the army, either that he had the same opinion as Murad of the event of the war, or that he was impatient to go to Constantinople to exercise his employ of grand vizier. The historians, so fertile in the particulars of campaigns, don't give any of this. They observe only, that the two armies being arrived in sight of each other near Tauris, the advanced parties, instead of provoking one another to blows, began to confer, and that this conference produced propositions which the grand vizier sent to the emperor Achmet. This prince having accepted them, Nasuf bashaw brought back his troops, and with them an ambassador from Persia, charged with procuring the treaty to be signed by the Ottoman monarch. The conditions of this peace

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 Heg. 1019.

J.C. 1611.
 Heg. 1020.
 The new grand vizier endeavours to conclude a peace.

Peace concluded.

J.C. 1611.
Heg. 1020.

were, that the Shirvan should be ceded to Persia; that the sophi's eldest son should bear the title of prince of Tauris; that cadis should be sent from Constantinople, who should administer justice to the Sunnites in all the towns of the Shirvan; that the Aliians and the Sunnites should have equally the free exercise of their religion there; that the sophi should pay every year two hundred loads of silk, by way of tribute for that province, which he acknowledged to hold of the Ottoman court. There was then seen, what had never been since the foundation of this warlike empire, a profound peace, which the emperor Achmet enjoyed the first; for one cannot call war some ravages which the duke of Tuscany made on the coast of Asia, and which were of no other consequence than the burning of several haunts of corsairs, and some loads of booty wrested from their hands.

The grand
seignior
builds a
mosque.

The grand seignior employed this spare time in building a mosque in the hippodrom, just by St. Sophia's. This edifice, though smaller than the first, surpasses it in magnificence. The outside is loaded with ornaments, and the inside is adorned with two hundred plates of gold, on which are engraved sentences of the Alcoran and Sunna, and several names of different prophets. Each of these plates is enriched with sixty precious stones. The Mussulman temples cannot be decorated with pictures, because Mahomet has forbidden the representation of any living creature; he

he considered it as a great crime to represent a body without giving it a soul. The Turkish historians say this mosque cost a great deal of money. One of them, quoted by Cantimir, accustomed to exaggerate like all the others, asserts, that when this edifice was finished, it was calculated that every drachm weight of stone cost the emperor three aspers, which make about three farthings sterling.

The peace which reigned throughout the Ottoman empire rendered the year 1612 but little fertile in events. The Turks received two Christian ambassadors, the one from the emperor Matthias, brother and successor of Rodolph II. to confirm the treaty of Comorra made in 1606; the other from the Dutch to settle a treaty of commerce. These mercantile people perceived the necessity of directing their own affairs with such an opulent and idle nation as the Turks, and what advantage there would be in importing the riches directly from the climate, in exchange for fruits gathered in the newly discovered islands, and all the productions of their industry. One of the first commodities with which the Dutch furnished the Ottomans, was like to excite great troubles in the capital and even throughout the empire. A Dutch vessel having brought snuff to Constantinople, when the use of this plant was but just known in Europe, the Turks at first used it with profusion; but, when they perceived

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Heg. 1021.

The mufti
attempts to
forbid the
use of
snuff.

that this duft, frequently taken, caused sneezings and even a kind of drunkennefs, the mufti and the imans, who were not forry to find occafions for exercifing their authority, feized this with avidity. They faid, that, when Mahomet forbade the ufe of wine and all fermented liquors, the prophet's intention was to prohibit every thing that could produce drunkennefs; that this plant, which caufed the fame effect as wine, ought likewife to be forbidden. The lovers of snuff, in a much greater number, replied, that Mahomet had attributed uncleanness, only to liquors and food, which, remaining in the ftomach, caufed fumes to mount to the head, confused the fenfes, and brought on difeafes; that a powder, which remained in the noftriils only fome moments, could not produce any of thefe effects; that, on the contrary, it facilitated the fecretions, which Mahomet had purpofed to procure the human body by feveral precepts of his law; that the fort of drunkennefs occafioned by the ufe of snuff, did not caufe the committing of any crime or extravagance; that it blunted the fenfes for fome moments, without affecting the mind; in a word, that it did not belong to the mufti to make new laws; that he was only to interpret thofe of the prophet in their true fenfe, and by no means to feek forced ones, in order to clog the liberty of the Faithful, more than ever the prophet himfelf had intended to conftain them. Thefe rea-
sons,

sons, supported by the authority of the grand vizier, became better than the musti and all the ulema would have had them. Whilst the chief of the law was deliberating if he should give a fetfa or not, the grand vizier caused snuff to be distributed to the janissaries and spahis as a present from the emperor. This proceeding decided the question. The soldiers and people soon considered this dust as a necessary thing. The general taste constrained the imans to hold their tongues; but the musti, full of resentment against the grand vizier, did not lose an opportunity of shewing it him. The haughty and inconsiderate conduct of this minister furnished his enemy with sufficient means to injure him.

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The grand vizier causes it to be adopted notwithstanding.

The honor which Nasuf had of marrying a sister of his master, had puffed up his pride, though he owed this illustrious alliance, only to his great riches, and the example of some of the emperors' brothers-in-law should have convinced him that this pinnacle of grandeur, far from preventing storms, had often raised them up. We presume it will not be wandering from the subject if we inform the reader from whence Nasuf sprang to become the first officer of the empire. This recital will be as much more instructive, as almost all the grand viziers and other beglerbegs or bashaws of the Porte have the same origin, and, if all have not begun by employments equally low with Nasuf, the major part of them,

Origin of Nasuf.

at

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at least, are, like him, children of tributaries, wrested from the Greek Christians, Armenians, and Maronites* of the distant provinces, or picked up in the roads, when they have been abandoned by their parents too poor to maintain them. These children are employed in the service of the seraglio according to their abilities or strength. The finest and sprightliest of them generally make great fortunes. But Nasuf was so far an exception to this rule that nature had given him but very little height, an olive complexion, and irregular features. Neither was he admitted among the icoglans, who are children brought up in the different seraglios, under the direction of the capi aga or chief of the white eunuchs, to serve as pages to the grand seignior, and pass by degrees to the first places in the empire. Nasuf was brought to Constantinople in the reign of Selim II. He was put among the azamoglans; this corps is composed of the refuse of the children, and intended for the meanest and most laborious employments of the seraglio. Nasuf was the son of a Greek priest, of the village of Serres near Salonichi, of which he long bore the name. He did not call himself Nasuf, a word corrupted from the Arabic, which signifies a man of counsel, 'till fortune had begun to smile on him. When he had acquired strength, he was made a baltagi or street porter; and, by a fortunate beginning, was appointed

* These Maronites are the Roman Catholics.

pointed to serve the kislar aga or chief of the black eunuchs. This eunuch soon perceived that his baltagi had more knowledge and talents than were necessary to carry burdens. The master intrusted his slave with several delicate commissions, which the latter executed with so much address, that the kislar aga thought he should do the valid sultaneſs a great kindness by giving her this faithful servant. In a little time the sultaneſs-mother, tried Serres in different employs; she was so well satisfied that she appointed him fangiac of a small province near Aleppo, which was assigned her for the maintenance of her household. The new fangiac conducted himself in this post as he had in all the others; he considerably augmented the valid's revenues. As she could not well do without Serres, she procured him in the seraglio the charge of capiggi pachi. It was whilst he had this place, that, in order to please his protectress, he changed his name to Nasuf, a man of good counsel. In the reign of Mahomet III. Nasuf, who comprehended that the credit of the sultaneſs-mother would last no longer than her son lived, seriously thought of quitting the court, where there was no longer any thing for him but risks to run. He solicited one of the fangiacates most distant from the Porte, and had the good fortune to obtain it. Nasuf, whose ambition was not satisfied, thought that gold would be a certain vehicle to conduct him

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to the highest dignities. He heaped up great sums, and obtained, several years after, the government of Diarbekar, with the title of bashaw of two tails. He found means to satisfy his rapacity in this new post, richer and more honorable than any of those that he had 'till then possessed. On the accession of Achmet to the throne, Nasuf learned that the new monarch had chosen Murad, the beglerbeg of Grand Cairo, for grand vizier. Murad's reputation and advanced age inspired Nasuf with a desire to make himself necessary to the grand vizier, to gain his confidence, and to succeed him. He joined this minister in his Asiatic expeditions to reduce the rebels, and took care to make himself useful to him; at length he got himself chosen lieutenant of the army which Murad was conducting to the frontiers of Persia. The reader has already seen how Nasuf became grand vizier. It remains then only to relate how he fell from this pinnacle of grandeurs to which he had risen from so low a state.

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His fall
and death.

The fall of almost all the great men in Turkey proceeds from their not having been able to foresee it, and from their being inebriated with their unlimited power, notwithstanding the numerous examples of those who have been punished for having abused it. According to the Ottoman manners, the grand viziers are much more powerful than it is possible for the prime minister of any

any other monarchy to be; as the grand seignior, <sup>J.C. 1613.
Heg. 1022.</sup> generally shut up in his haram, sees nothing of his subjects, shewing himself to them, only in the pomp of his marches from one seraglio to the other, or from the seraglio to the mosque. All the rest of his time, surrounded by women and eunuchs, he has no communication with those that he governs, but through the grand vizier, or some other officer of the empire dependant on the latter. As no vizier had been strangled for a long time past, Nasuf, to whom all gave way, thought his favor invariable, and his power more confirmed than that of any of his predecessors. Some infringements of the treaty of peace with Persia, had been committed on the frontiers of the two empires; but Nasuf, who would rather reign at Constantinople than command armies in the deserts of Persia, concealed from the prince the information he had received; he had even some secret commerce with the minister that governed Persia under the sophi, and received considerable presents from that minister, without the grand seignior's knowing any thing of it. He made a practice of imposing on his master, in order to render himself more and more necessary, and to give a good opinion of his government. A vessel having taken a bark from the Cossacks, which carried at most but fifteen men, the grand vizier had fifteen vessels joined to it from the arsenal armed with cannon, and four hundred

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shewed these ships and men to the grand seignior in the port of Constantinople, as a prize of consequence taken by his vessels from the Cossack corsairs which infested the seas. This notorious falsity was the first cause of Nasuf's fall. Though the captain bashaw seemed equally interested with the grand vizier to conceal it, yet he or his officers could not hold their tongues, and the musti soon learned what was to be thought of the prizes taken from the Cossacks. He knew likewise that the grand vizier drew large sums of money from the public treasury under pretence of building galleys which were never made; that there had only been laid on the shore a great many dismantled carcasses, and that the grand vizier persuaded his master they were as many new vessels on the stocks. The musti retained a secret hatred against the grand vizier ever since the snuff affair. As his dignity gave him a right to speak to the monarch in private, he discovered to him this imposition. Achmet was greatly enraged: nevertheless, he could not then depose Nasuf, as he thought he had great occasion for him. But a very short time after, the bashaw of Aleppo having been summoned to send a considerable sum to the grand vizier, without passing it through the hands of the desterdar or receiver of the public money, the bashaw at first paid no attention to this order; but presently he received

a new

a new one with a menace of being deposed if he did not instantly obey. The bashaw of Aleppo wrote to the musti, who protected him, and he even sent his son to Constantinople, in order that he might obtain pardon or at least some delay from the grand vizier. The chief of the law, convinced that the knowledge of this oppression would complete the overthrow of this greedy minister, advised the bashaw of Aleppo's son to place himself in the way of the grand seignior when the latter should go to mosque, and to hold over his head a lighted match, which is the practice of all those that want to address some complaint to the emperor. They endeavour by this mean to get themselves remarked. This flame is symbolical; it signifies that the sultan will burn in the other life, if he do not administer justice to his subjects in this. Achmet, having perceived this fire raised over a head, sent a capiggi to tell the person who held it, to carry his complaint to the grand vizier. The son of the bashaw of Aleppo cried aloud, that it was precisely that grand vizier whom he had to complain against. The emperor, who heard it, ordered him to go to the seraglio, and in fact admitted this young man to the foot of his throne. The two letters produced by the son of the bashaw of Aleppo, which commanded that officer to remit a large sum to the grand vizier himself; the positive order not to give any information of it to the def-

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terdar; the menace of deposing this bashaw if he did not punctually obey; in fine, the certainty of there having been commotions in Georgia which the grand vizier had concealed from the emperor; all these accumulated misdemeanors so enraged Achmet, that the death of the grand vizier was soon resolved on. Nasuf learned the arrival of the bashaw of Aleppo's son, and the means which that young man had taken to obtain an audience of Achmet. He soon suspected his disaster. In order to avert the storm, or at least to abate its fury, he sent to the seraglio the sultane's his wife, sister to the emperor. This princess pleaded the cause of Nasuf whom she loved; and after having endeavoured to justify his conduct, though she knew not all the grand vizier was accused of, she concluded with saying, that if her husband had merited his highness's displeasure, she supplicated that he might be made a mazul, and be permitted to lead a private life, detached from all the cares of government. The emperor, who wanted to entice Nasuf to the seraglio, dissembled to his sister. She left Achmet, persuaded that her husband would soon resume all his credit and authority; but the vizier, conscious of his guilt, and who, without doubt, knew his master better than a young, unexperienced princess, put no confidence in these favorable appearances. It was not then customary to put any one to death in his own house: Nasuf thought he could avert his destiny;

destiny; he feigned sickness, in order to have a pretext for not going to the seraglio; and as he had accumulated an immense property, he sought the means to transport it to some distant province, where he might go and end his days. His enemies, who had an eye on all his proceedings, soon discovered the truth. The emperor would not be deprived of a confiscation which was represented to him as the largest ever made. He resolved to prevent the flight of this man whom he had honored with so much confidence, and whom he had for some days considered as his most dangerous enemy, very capable of raising him up a great number of others, let him be in what corner of the empire he would. The grand seignior demanded a fetfa from the musti, who, as one may suppose, granted it without difficulty: he decided even that this deceiver could be put to death in the ramazan, which is the lent of the Turks, though the Sunna forbids the execution of any criminal during that period. The death warrant was immediately issued, but it was not easy to put it in execution. Besides the grand vizier's having a numerous guard attached to his dignity, the riches and luxury of Nasuf retained in his palace a multitude of servants and slaves; and the retinue of the sultaness his spouse was as numerous as his. This princess loved Nasuf affectionately and would neglect nothing to defend him. Instead of charging the capiggis and executioners

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cutioners with this difficult execution, the emperor intrusted it to the bostangi pachi, a creature of the grand vizier's, whom he had raised to that place, because this man had been like himself azamoglan and baltagi. This officer, provided with two orders of the grand seignior, one of which deprived Nasuf of his dignity, and the other proscribed his head, repaired to the palace of the grand vizier, without any other retinue than four bostangis. On his being refused entrance, he said that he came from the emperor to inquire after the grand vizier's health. As the officers of this minister replied to the bostangi pachi that their master was better, and that he was with the sultaneſs his ſpouſe, the latter inſiſted, aſſuring them that he was ordered not to return to the ſeraglio 'till he had ſeen Nasuf. The rank of the bostangi pachi, his intimacy with the miniſter, the weakneſs of his eſcort, and eſpecially the time of the ramazan, deſtroyed the ſuſpicions of Nasuf and his attendants. He made the ſultaneſs retire, and admitted the bostangi pachi to the bed's ſide on which he was lying in his clothes. The four bostangis ſtopped in the antechamber; after the firſt compliments, the bostangi pachi deſired that ſome black eunuchs, who had remained in the grand vizier's chamber by order of the ſultaneſs their miſtreſs, might retire. Nasuf ordered them to go out, and the bostangis, who guarded the door, took care to get them ſtill at
a greater

a greater distance. When the grand vizier and the bostangi pachi were alone, the latter drew out the grand seignior's first order, which commanded Nasuf to give up the seals. The grand vizier, who began to fear, believing himself clear with the loss of his dignity, was contented to enjoy in peace his riches and the affection of his wife. He called his secretaries, and having had the seals tied up in a handkerchief, he kissed them and gave them to the bostangi pachi, charging him to assure the grand seignior, that none of his subjects had ever been, or ever would be, more faithful to him. The news of the grand vizier's being deposed, in spreading a kind of consternation in his palace, confirmed likewise its security; for his wife and servants had been very uneasy ever since the bostangi pachi had desired to be alone with Nasuf. When all was quiet, as the bostangi had foreseen, after about an hour's conversation, this officer drew from his bosom the last order of the grand seignior, which proscribed Nasuf's head. The despair of this unfortunate man was then at its height; he complained bitterly of the treachery; he reclaimed the usage of not putting the condemned to death either in their houses or during the ramazan; he desired to speak to the grand seignior and likewise to his wife, but all was refused him. The bostangi pachi, who had called in his men, and who greatly feared the disorder which he had so much endeavoured

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endeavoured to prevent, declared to the unfortunate Nasuf that he had but a very few minutes left to prepare for death : he refused him the liberty of passing into an adjoining room to say his prayers. At length Nasuf prepared to die, and having taken off his vest and turban himself, he called the four boftangis, who strangled him with much difficulty, because he was very fat, and this function was not familiar to them. After the execution they had no occasion to cut their way through Nasuf's guards and officers; for all dispersed as soon as they had learned that their master was strangled. As soon as these news had spread, the defterdar ran to seize on the grand vizier's riches, which, according to the historians, were immense, especially in jewels and rich furniture. The grand seignior at first forbade the giving of Nasuf any sepulture; but at length overcome by the tears of the sultaneß his sister, he permitted his body to be interred without ceremony in a burying place among the dregs of the people. The sultaneß having caused a tubé to be placed there, the emperor ordered it to be demolished, and would not even permit an inscription to be left.

Marriage
of one of
the grand
seignior's
daughters
with the
new vizier
Mehemet.

The fatal end of Nasuf was insufficient to prevent the great men of the Porte from allying themselves with their emperor. Mehemet, from captain bashaw become grand vizier, was almost immediately after married to a daughter of the sultan,

sultan, who was only six years old; and he, who succeeded to the charge of captain bashaw, called Mamout, married at the same time a sister of his master in a more suitable age. These two marriages were celebrated with uncommon pageantry. We shall faithfully relate, from the Turkish historians, the ceremonies observed at the marriage of the princess with the grand vizier, in order to give some idea of the magnificence and manners of the Ottomans. The day before this festival, the desterdar or grand treasurer carried the moveables and jewels of the sultaneſs to the husband's ſeraglio or house. The proceſſion began by five hundred janiffaries with their arms; then two hundred of the first quality in the empire marched two and two magnificently dressed. The desterdar, surrounded by twenty-four chiaus dressed in robes of gold cloth, preceded the presents: twenty-seven slaves, clothed more sumptuously than the attendants, carried the jewels, among which was an Alcoran covered with solid gold and studded over with large diamonds; a kerchief fastened with a string, and egrets of precious stones; a girdle covered with rubies and turquoises; a box of rock crystal a foot and a half long, deep and broad in proportion, adorned with gold at the corners, filled with pearls and precious stones; a large quantity of bracelets and clasps of every kind set with the very finest diamonds: then came

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eleven carriages all covered with gold gauze, carrying the sultaneſs's female ſlaves: twenty-two other ſlaves clothed in gold cloth, veiled with ſilver gauze, and mounted on horſes magnificently capariſoned; led by black eunuchs, preceded two hundred and fifty mules loaded with gold ſtuffs, gold-linen, velvets, fatins, carpets, tents, and other moveables.*

The next day the ſultaneſs was conducted to her huſband's houſe in the following order. Twenty-four emirs, deſcended from Mahomet, diſtinguiſhed by the green turban, which they alone have a right to wear, walked before the ulema; next all the imans; then all the timarians, ágas, fangiaks, and baſhaws of the different orders who were then at Conſtantinople, thoſe of higheſt rank bringing up the rear. The vizier of the bench, the firſt after the grand vizier, took the right; for the chief of the law takes only the ſecond place in any aſſembly. He, who repreſents the grand ſeignior, is always the firſt. Thirty muſicians, hautboys and drums, on foot, formed a concert, and were followed by ſeveral muſicians dancing with tabours. Forty others playing on lutes, citherns, harps, and other inſtruments, with fools dancing to them, who wore caps

* All theſe preſents, of inſtimable value, no way impoveriſh the ſultan, as, at the death of each baſhaw or of each princeſs, they return from whence they came. The emperor being the indiſpenſable inheritor of the perſonals of all the princeſſes, and of all thoſe that have employs in the empire, the children never ſucceed but to the lands.

caps and robes covered and ornamented with sheep's bones. These wretches are greatly revered by the Mussulmen, who consider them as being inspired. A hundred and fifty officers of the arsenal brought with them pioneers, provided with shovels and pickaxes, to level the roads in order to make way for two large trees loaded with artificial fruit and drawn by means of engines. Thirty officers, superbly mounted, dressed in vests furred with sable, preceded the sagois (it is thus they call a vizier of the bench whom the emperor appointed to represent the father of the new married sultaneſs, as it was not consistent with the dignity of his highneſs to appear himself at this ceremony). After the sagois, were carried three great torches of white wax, one of which, much longer and thicker than the other two, was covered with large plates of gold and a number of jewels; the kiſlar aga followed, accompanied by fifty black eunuchs; then came a pavilion of crimson velvet, richly embroidered with gold and pearls; under this pavilion was the bride, mounted on a white pad; ſeveral coaches or Turkiſh litters followed, drawn by white horſes; a number of young girls, veiled and magnificently dressed, ſurrounded by black eunuchs, cloſed the proceſſion. The princeſs was received by the grand vizier, her husband, at the door of his palace, when ſhe immediately entered with all her women into the haram pre-

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J.C. 1613.
Heg. 1022.



pared for her. The bridegroom gave a magnificent entertainment to the sultaneſs's retinue, after which the people and grandees were amused with horſe races and tournaments with the lance between the ſpahis. The day after this feſtival a moſt tragical ſcene happened at the ſeraglio. The ſultaneſs, mother to the young princeſs ſo haſtily married to the grand vizier, was very jealous of a young ſlave whom the emperor for ſeveral days paſt had taken great notice of. The favorite thought ſhe might go any lengths to retain the heart of her maſter. During the tumult of her daughter's wedding, which took up the attention of Achmet, ſhe had this ſlave ſtrangled, whom ſhe already conſidered as her rival. On the emperor's being informed of this outrage, he fell into ſuch a violent paſſion, that he loaded with blows the ſultaneſs whom he had 'till then moſt loved; and after having trampled on and abuſed her a long time, he ſent her to the old ſeraglio. The eunuchs, her accomplices in this crime, were all empaled.

The ſultan confines one of his favorites in the old ſeraglio.

A derviſ ſtrikes the grand ſeignior & does not kill him. Plague at Conſtantinople. The dogs are baniſhed from the city.

A few days after, the plague, which was ſpreading at Conſtantinople, obliged the emperor to take up his reſidence in one of his pleaſure-houſes, in the vicinity of the city, called Darut. Having been from thence to a moſque which he had built in the country, a derviſ threw on him from a gallery a large ſtone, which, inſtead of daſhing out his brains, as was intended, only wounded

wounded him slightly in the shoulder. The dervis was secured. The most cruel tortures could not wrest from him the motives of his crime, or who were his accomplices. Some have pretended, without any foundation, that he had been set on by the sultaneſs juſt confined in the old ſeraglio; but the women are as ſtrictly guarded in this palace of diſgrace, as in that of the grand ſeignior. It is impoſſible for them to have a correſpondence with any others than the eunuchs who have charge of them, and ſome Jewish merchants who bring them ſtuffs. Certainly, theſe women would not have undertaken to raiſe up the diſgraced ſultaneſs an avenger. Be that as it may, the dervis was empaled, without having made any confeſſion. The grand ſeignior's wound being healed, and the plague ſtopped in Conſtantinople, Achmet returned to the ſeraglio. As it was feared leſt the contagion ſhould again break out, the phyſicians, who are moſtly Jews at Conſtantinople, declared that all the dogs muſt be removed from the city, which, roving the ſtreets, might communicate the infection. The emperor, who was deſirous of having them killed, conſulted the muſti; but the chief of the law replied, that each dog had a ſoul, and therefore it was not lawful to take their lives. They were all collected together, and tranſported to a deſert iſland near Scutari.

The

J.C. 1613.
Heg. 1022.

J.C. 1614.
Heg. 1023.

The way-
wode of
Moldavia
revolts.
His death.
Achmet
gives his
principa-
lity to
Tomfa a
Pole.

The state had already been in peace too long a time for the impatience of the Turks. After two years tranquility, Moldavia and Transylvania offered food for their warlike genius. The last prince of Moldavia, who had submitted to the Turks, had been dead about three years. Constantine, his successor, though he had received the investiture of the Porte, neglected to pay the tribute to this power that he had reason to fear more than Poland to which he wanted to become feudatory. A brother-in-law of this prince of Moldavia, called Stephen Korefski, full of valour and martial talents, which he had learned in serving Poland, his country, against Moscovy, had persuaded the waywode Constantine with the rash design of throwing off the Turkish yoke. The sultan, after having summoned him in vain to pay the tribute, gave the investiture of Moldavia to a Pole called Tomfa, of whom history does not give the origin. This Tomfa entered the country which the sultan had bestowed on him, with a succour of ten thousand Tartars, and the grand vizier followed him at a short distance with forty thousand men. Constantine, who had not twenty thousand men to oppose his competitor with, fought in the defiles. Neither the talents of Korefski, nor the valour of the Poles and Moldavians, who composed Constantine's little army, could withstand this number. Korefski was taken prisoner. Constantine,

stantine, obstinately endeavouring to conceal himself, died of fatigue and cold in a marsh where he had hidden himself. His brother Alexander, a child of thirteen years old, was shut up in the seraglio at Constantinople, where he turned Mussulman. In vain did the king of Poland send an embassy to the Portè to offer to pay the tribute for Constantine, whose death was not yet confirmed, or for his brother Alexander, and to demand the execution of the ancient treaties: the Polish minister could not even procure an audience from the sultan; and his master was obliged to abandon these allies, who were also his tributaries, since circumstances would not permit him to assist them more powerfully.

Achmet recovered at the same time the high sovereignty of Transylvania, where the troubles had continued whilst the Ottoman empire and Hungary were at peace. After the death of Bostcaie, poisoned, as it was said, by the emissaries of the emperor Matthias, the Battoris had found means to renew their pretensions to this province. A prince of the house of Battori, called Sigismund, had died in the prisons of the emperor of the West. His brother Gabriel was become waywode on acknowledging the high sovereignty of Matthias; but this prince governed his subjects newly brought under subjection with so much severity, that a powerful party was soon formed against him. The Transylvanians, accustomed

J.C. 1614.
Heg. 1023.

The Transylvanians depose Battori, & elect Bethlen Gabor in his place.

J.C. 1614.
Heg. 1023.

customed to change masters, no longer considered Gabriel but as a tyrannical usurper, though he was descended from their ancient waywodes. They elected a Transylvanian gentleman, called Gabor Betlem, or Betlem Gabor. Gabor, in Hungarian, signifies Gabriel. The gentlemen of this nation place their Christian name after that of their family. Betlem Gabor was proclaimed, with great joy, by a people that had groaned several years under the yoke of Gabriel Battori. Betlem, with some national troops, implored the succour of the emperor of the East, promising to put Transylvania under his authority, as it always ought to have been. Achmet did not neglect this favorable occasion. He sent a chiau to Vienna to represent to the emperor that the exactions and cruelties of the Battoris, which were in reality excessive, had broken the barriers of obedience, and restored the Transylvanians the right of choosing a master who should govern them according to their laws; that Transylvania desired to return under the high sovereignty of the Ottoman empire, and that he was resolved to recover that province. This declaration was followed by the troops requested by Betlem Gabor. Achmet himself went to Adrianople to review the army which he intended for his new vassal. He placed sixty thousand men under the command of Sandar bashaw, who crossed the mountains of Transylvania. The emperor of the West thought he ought to
send

send troops likewise, less to assist the waywode Battori, than to get possession of this province, which had been already united to the crown of Hungary. The unfortunate Battori, beset on all sides, would fain attempt a secret negociation with the commander of the Ottoman army. One day as he had just reviewed his troops, which were in a very small number, he was attacked by fifty men armed with musquets, who shot him dead on the spot. Several historians have accused the emperor Matthias of this assassination; but he reaped no advantage from it. Moreover, Battori was so odious, that all those that dreaded his government were interested in his death, and might well be suspected of it.

J.C. 1614.
Heg. 1023.

The Turks
send troops
under the
command
of Sandar
bashaw to
protect
Betlem
Gabor.
Battori is
killed.

As soon as the murder of Battori was known, all the towns which held for him opened their gates to his rival. Betlem Gabor would not enter his new dominions, without being conducted by Sandar bashaw. The German army retired, without any pains being taken to pursue them. The Ottoman general publicly performed in the town of Waradin the ceremony of giving the investiture of Transylvania to the new feudatory; he accompanied this action with all the parade of which it was capable. The Transylvanian army being assembled in an extensive plain at the gates of Waradin, the bashaw conducted thither the new waywode; and having placed him at the head of his troops, he received his oaths, which this

Sandar ba-
shaw gives
publicly
the investi-
ture to the
waywode.

J.C. 1614.
Heg. 1023.

{ vassal repeated on his knees. When he had
 risen, the bashaw girded on him a sword, the hilt
 of which was set with precious stones ; and, put-
 ting a standard into his hands : " His highness,"
 said he to him, " is convinced of thy affection to
 " his service and of thy capacity. He orders
 " thee to govern his Transylvanian subjects ac-
 " cording to their laws and according to justice.
 " Remember, Betlem, that it is by his power
 " alone thou holdest this favor ; endeavour al-
 " ways to use it in such a manner that thou do
 " not make thyself unworthy of the honor which
 " he does thee. Don't let thyself be deceived
 " by the pretext of religion, with which they
 " will endeavour to render thee ungrateful and
 " perjured ; remember always how the Austrians
 " have protected the Battoris, and how our sub-
 " lime emperor protects thee. Treat thy subjects
 " as thou wouldest be treated by thy sovereign
 " paramount. Let the example of Battori be
 " ever in thy memory. Know, that the death
 " of a wicked prince is often as bloody as his
 " life." The ceremony of the investiture being
 over, Betlem assembled the states, who consented
 to pay a tribute to the Porte. Achmet assured
 the emperor Matthias, that his armament having
 had no other end than to deliver the Transylva-
 nians from the oppression of Battori, he sincerely
 desired that peace might continue between the
 two empires. He sent chiaus to Vienna, and

Matthias

Peace con-
firmed
anew be-
tween the
Porte and
the court
of Vienna.

Matthias in his turn sent ambassadors to Constantinople to confirm the treaty made in 1606. J.C. 1615.
Heg. 1024.

Though Achmet wished sincerely for peace and neglected nothing to confirm it in his empire, the time when the Ottomans were to enjoy perfect tranquillity was not yet arrived. The duke of Tuscany, to be revenged for some prizes taken from his subjects by Turkish corsairs, had the fortress of Agliman, on the coast of Caramania, attacked. Taking of
Agliman. This was the staple of the tributes of a great part of Asia and of all the isles of the Archipelago. The grand duke's admiral commanded seven galleys well manned and stored. Having learned that only three hundred Turks guarded a very considerable quantity of gold in this citadel, which they were preparing to send to Constantinople on camels, he besieged Agliman by land and sea; and, after a very smart attack, took all the garrison and all the gold, which they had not been able to defend. Achmet felt this loss greatly, as he had just learned that the sophi of Persia would not observe the treaties signed by his ambassadors; and that this same duke of Tuscany, so incensed against the Porte, was raising him up an enemy which he pretended to have drawn from his bosom.

This was Jacaia, the pretended son of Mahomet III. and elder brother of Achmet, whom his mother, a Christian slave, had, as was said, conveyed from the seraglio in Magnesia to preserve

J.C. 1615.
Heg. 1024.

Jacaia, the
pretended
eldest son
of Maho-
met III.
gives in-
quietude to
Achmet.

his life; for Jacaia being younger than Bajazet whom Mahomet had since put to death, she feared, that, when the eldest should ascend the throne, he would sacrifice her son to his own safety. Those, who have supposed that Jacaia was of the Ottoman race, say, that the sultaneſs gave out that her son died of the ſmall pox, and cauſed another child to be buried in his place. The truth of it has never been well cleared up. The reader muſt remember that Mahomet III. a little before his death, cauſed his ſon to be ſtrangled on very ſlight ſuſpicions. As ſoon as Achmet aſcended the throne, Jacaia, who had been ſecretly educated in the Chriſtian religion by a Greek ſchiſmatic monk, travelled throughout Aſia, endeavouring to perſuade people that he was the real heir of the laſt emperor; but though all the rebels heard with pleaſure theſe doubts publiſhed on the lawful poſſeſſion of Achmet, not one of them would favor his competitor; either that they thought the ſuppoſition too improbable, or that they would rather become ſovereigns themſelves, than fight for a change of maſter only. Jacaia wandered ſeveral years in Aſia, living on the property that his mother had ſaved up for him, divided between the deſire of publiſhing his pretenſions, and the care of concealing his exiſtence from the real friends of Achmet. He paſſed into Poland, where king Sigismund reſuſed, either to aſſiſt this illuſtrious adventurer,

adventurer, or to deliver him to the Turks, who demanded him in the name of their master. The grand duke Cosmus of Medicis endeavoured to employ this phantom to make a powerful diversion in Turkey. He invited Jacaia to his capital, where he treated him as the lawful monarch of a great empire, announced his pretensions to the pope, to the king of Spain, and to the king of France, and destined the money which he had taken from the Turkish emperor in the fortress of Agliman to procure a party in Asia for this rival which he was desirous of setting up against him. The grand duke sent Jacaia to Rome and into the Italian dominions of the king of Spain. The pope received this pretended prince as the real Ottoman monarch. Great honors were paid him every where; but he found no where the succours which he sought. He learned at Aversa, that neither the money nor the efforts of the family of Medicis had been able to assemble him an army. Wearied out with treating with the Spaniards and Italians, who gave him nothing but empty promises, he passed into France, where Charles of Gonzague, duke of Nevers, who had considerable pretensions to the Peloponessus and Greece, undertook to subsist him 'till a favorable moment should offer, which in fact never arrived. History says nothing farther of Jacaia.

The grand duke of Tuscany would fain raise up a more dangerous enemy against the Porte.

This

J.C. 1615.
Heg. 1024.

J.C. 1616. This was Facardin the prince of the Druses.
 Heg. 1025.

War a-
 gainst Fa-
 cardin
 soon ter-
 minated.

These people possess a part of Syria near Palestine. They call themselves the descendants of the Franks who conquered Jerusalem. Though they had already lost most of the dogmas of Christianity, of which they had but a few ceremonies left, they were very violent against the Mahometan and Jewish religions. They lived under the government of a prince who did not dare call himself Christian: and though he pretended to be descended from Godfrey of Bouillon, he paid tribute to the Porte. He, who reigned in the time of Achmet, called Facardin like his predecessors, was more valiant than any of them had ever been. He armed at first to deliver Syria from the freebooters that infested that province; he deserved the thanks of all his subjects and of all the neighbouring people. His bravery drew him a great many soldiers; and his inroads soon disturbed the Turkish sangiacs, who wrote to the Porte that a new rebel was risen up on the confines of Syria. The bashaw of Sidon having marched against Facardin, without having received orders from Achmet, the prince of the Druses beat the Turks, and made himself master of the town which the bashaw had marched out of in order to fight him, always protesting that he was faithful to Achmet, his sovereign paramount. He attacked these troops with success, and received succours by sea from the duke of Tuscany,

Tuscany. Facardin made himself master of all the neighbouring country, after which he negotiated with the Porte, without delivering himself into the hands of the bashaws, as the other Asiatic rebels had done. Facardin, with victorious arms and the offer of a tribute, had no great difficulty to make his peace, because he protested that he had been always faithful to the emperor Achmet, and threw on the exactions of the bashaws the acts of hostility wrongfully attributed to him. He would neither give up Sidon nor the country that he had invaded, pretending that he was lawful possessor of it under the condition of paying homage to the Ottoman emperor. The bashaw of Sidon, who began this quarrel, lost his head for the uneasiness which he had shewn and the bad success of his expedition. Achmet, who had to fight the Persians, was no longer willing to find culprits in Asia among his tributaries. The following was the occasion of the war with Persia.

We have already observed that the grand vizier Nasuf concealed from his master several infringements of treaty made by the Persians. The sophi Abbas was displeased with the peace which he had signed; it appeared to him disgraceful for his sceptre and the brave cavalry which had always made head against the Turks. The sophi permitted the governors of his frontiers to make frequent incursions into the Turkish territories.

J.C. 1616.
Heg. 1025.

War with
Persia.

J.C. 1616.
Heg. 1025.

territories. A chiau, sent since the death of Nasuf to complain highly at the agreement made between the two nations being transgressed without any pretext, was treated with indignity, without having been able to reach the court. The governors forgot the law of nations so far as to have this minister of the Porte bastinaded; and they sent him back after having pillaged his baggage. This enormous insult could not be left unrevenged. The bashaw of Damascus was sent with a numerous army, formed principally of the garrisons of the different sangiacates of Asia. Abbas, who ardently wished for war, left Ispahan, marched boldly against the Turks, came up with them near Bassora, and with less than sixty thousand men beat an army twice as numerous. The Persian prince, taking advantage of this success, recovered all the country that his ancestors had lost in Asia minor. In order the better to secure his conquests during the winter, he removed his court from Ispahan to the town of Bagdad in the province of Suse. Achmet learned with the greatest chagrin the disaster of his army. He reproached himself with having remained idle in his palace, whilst Abbas in person had insured victory to his soldiers.

The Turks
are beaten
near Bassora.

J.C. 1617.
Heg. 1026.
Death of
Achmet.

As the emperor of the Turks was preparing to take the field himself, he was attacked with a violent illness, which put an end to his life the 16th of November 1617, in the thirtieth year of his

his age, after a reign of fourteen years more glorious perhaps than either of his predecessors, if glory may be attributed to other virtues than those of war. Of all the Ottoman emperors, Achmet shewed himself most sparing of human blood, and best knew how to make his power be respected. In a tender age, he chose his ministers and governed with them. He was at the same time liberal and economical, loving magnificence, and especially justice, which he caused to be rendered his subjects, without ever proscribing any other heads than those that were criminal. Achmet never determined, 'till the last days of his life, to appear himself at the head of his army; he thought without doubt that the principal duties of a sovereign are not those of a general. The Turkish historians reproach him with having been too fond of women; but we don't find that either of them made him commit any considerable faults, nor even that he consulted them in the governing of his empire. It is said that he had three thousand concubines. His law allowed him an unlimited number; but neither of these young slaves, destined to the prince's pleasure, procured either the placing or displacing of generals or ministers, or caused peace or war, as had been the case under the predecessors of Achmet. This prince was the first of all the Ottoman emperors that executed the precept which enjoins all men to work with their

J.C. 1617.
Heg. 1026.

J.C. 1617.
Heg. 1026.
hands to gain their livelihood. Achmet was desirous of giving this example to his subjects, who had more want of it perhaps than any other people on earth: for there are no inhabitants in the world that are in general greater idlers than the Turks. Achmet learned to make rings of horn proper to bend bows with. He worked at this trade a short time every morning after his prayer, and would have these rings sold, though of a very trifling value, in order that what they made might be applied towards his kitchen expences. This practice, so indispensable for the lower class of people, might be considered as superstitious in one of the greatest monarchs on earth; but Achmet wished to inspire his subjects with a contempt for idleness. This prince was more sensible than any other Ottoman monarch that the people's interest ought to be the only object of the attention of sovereigns.

M U S T A P H A I.

FIFTEENTH REIGN.

THE emperor Achmet had permitted a younger brother, called Mustapha, to live. Misfortune and fear had united these two princes in their infancy. The Turkish historians say, that towards the latter part of the reign of Mahomet

homet III. Achmet and Mustapha having an elder brother, called Bajazet, the presumptive heir to the throne, and who, according to the barbarous custom of the Ottoman princes, might one day take the lives of his younger brothers, these two victims bewailed to each other the destiny which threatened them. Achmet promised Mustapha, that, if he escaped this danger, and should have the good fortune to become emperor, he would be less cruel than his predecessors, and would not begin his reign by a fratricide. Bajazet was strangled, as we have seen. A very short time after, Achmet succeeded the sultan Mahomet III. Not only the new emperor then remembered his promise to Mustapha; but fourteen years after, the violence of his illness convincing him that he had but a short time to live, this sage prince, who was leaving for supporters of the throne only infant children, ordered the grand vizier, the musti, and the bashaws of the bench, to be called to his bed side. He told them that the sword of Othman was too heavy for the hands of his eldest son, hardly twelve years old; that the example of the caliphs authorised the making choice of the eldest of the imperial race to intrust with the government of the empire; and that, for the good of his subjects, he wished to have his brother Mustapha possess the throne after him. All the great officers were obedient to the monarch's last orders.

J.C. 1617.
 Heg. 1026.

Mustapha,
 brother of
 Achmet,
 is declared
 emperor.

J.C. 1617.
Heg. 1026,

As soon as Achmet was dead, the grand vizier and the mufti proclaimed Mustapha at the head of the janissaries and spahis assembled. The new emperor appeared on horseback in the Hippodrom, amidst the acclamations of the people and soldiers. The mufti girded the sword of Othman on him with the usual ceremonies, and the sultan gave all the soldiery in Constantinople the presents made by his ancestors on like occasions. But, though Mustapha was older than his nephews, for he was but one year younger than the emperor who died last, it was soon known that he was no more capable of governing than these young princes. He shewed immediately so great an aversion for women, that he could not be prevailed on to enter his haram, and he would not permit a single odalisk to appear before him. Mustapha could not see the valid sultaneß, the mother of the late emperor and himself, without great repugnance; he even deprived her of all the power which Achmet had made a kind of duty to grant her. Mustapha took pleasure in squandering money, without reason or measure, on those that did not ask him for any, who had done no kind of service to the empire, and had no right to expect favors, in order to enjoy the surprise that an unexpected change of fortune caused in them; which made those who endeavoured to set the people and soldiers against him say, that the emperor threw the money of the public treasury

Character
of Mustapha.

treasury into the sea. Mustapha was no sooner on the throne, than he set at liberty the Persian ambassador, whom his predecessor had imprisoned when he declared war against the sophi. The Persian prince sent rich presents to the new emperor; but as he obstinately refused to pay the quantity of silk which he had promised by way of tribute, the divan determined that the war should be continued, and the grand vizier prepared to conduct an army into the sophi's new conquests.

J.C. 1617.
Heg. 1026.

The war
with Persia
is resolved
on anew.

Though Mustapha had appeared to respect the law of nations in the person of the Persian ambassador, his grand vizier manifestly violated this universal law of mankind, in the person of baron Sancy, ambassador from France. The following was the occasion of it. Prince Koreski, taken prisoner in the Moldavian war, was confined in the castle of the Seven Towers, on account of his not having paid a very considerable ransom demanded by the Porte. The French ambassador, protector by birth of all the Christians resident in Constantinople, whether free or slaves, sent Martin, his secretary, several times to console Koreski and offer him succours. The intimacy between the prisoner and the secretary of the French ambassador became so great, that the latter endeavoured to find means to procure the Moldavian his liberty. Martin, without communicating his design to his master, furnished prince Koreski with a ladder of ropes, which he found

J.C. 1618.
Heg. 1027.

On what
occasion
baron San-
cy was ar-
rested by
the Turks,
and how he
was releas-
ed.

J.C. 1618.
Heg. 1027.

found means to put in a pye, sent to the prisoner from the French ambassador's kitchen. With this assistance Korefski descended from a window in the upper chamber where he was confined; and having concealed his flight from the garrison of the fort, he had time to get away before he was found wanting. They carefully searched in his prison every thing that could lead to a discovery of the place of his retreat, or the means of his escape, and found some of Martin's letters, which disclosed his intercourse with the fugitive. The grand vizier immediately ordered the secretary Martin and the druggerman of the embassy to be arrested in the French palace, and had them rigorously put to the torture. Baron Sancy, irritated at this insult, ran to the prime minister's to make his complaint and demand his people; but the vizier, after having loaded him with abuse, ordered him to be arrested likewise, and told him, that he should be treated as his secretary and druggerman, if he did not discover the place of prince Korefski's retreat. Neither the protestations of baron Sancy, nor his claiming the protection of the law of nations, nor his menaces in the name of his master, could move the grand vizier, who left the ambassador of France in the hands of some chiaus. These last assured baron Sancy, in order to appease and console him, that he would not be put to the torture 'till the next day. The ambassador, convinced that the dig-
nity

nity of his character would not save him from this barbarity, had recourse to other means in order to escape it. Under pretence of seeking Korefki, he sent his servants to the French palacé to take all the money kept there; and as the baron was intimate with the mufti, he sent a rich present to this chief of the religion, in order to obtain his protection from the insults of the grand vizier. The mufti wrote to the prime minister, and threatened him with a fetfa. This letter, accompanied with a considerable sum, had all the desired effect on the grand vizier. Baron Sancy was released, as likewise his people; but, full of resentment, he wrote to his court for vengeance. Before the complaints of Lewis XIII: against this outrage arrived at the Porte, every thing was greatly changed.

Mustapha, who had neither the abilities nor even the desire of governing properly, did not abandon the reins of the empire to the vizier, or at least he clogged the wheels of government by his fantasies and nonsense. He conferred two of the most important dignities, that of bashaw of Grand Cairo and that of bashaw of Damascus, on two icoglans, little otherwise than children, who knew nothing but the laborious employment to which they were accustomed in the odas of the seraglio. He lavished, as we have already said, the treasures that were in his power so singularly, that it was impossible to give his profusions

J.C. 1618.
Heg. 1027.


The divan
and people
are discontented with
Mustapha.

J.C. 1618.
Heg. 1026.

fusions the name of liberality. The valid sultans, irritated at the contempt which the emperor shewed for her sex, and at the little credit that he granted her, soon conspired against him. The kislar aga, who, through the indifference of the monarch, lost all the authority annexed to his office; the musti, who, having been a good deal with the sultan, was more convinced than any other officer in the empire, of his absolute incapacity, conspired together to raise up the janissaries and spahis. A number of timarians of every rank assisted them in their design. Mustapha had deprived several of them of their timars on the most frivolous pretences, so much so, that the prince being one day a hunting, would fain recompense a peasant who had brought him some fresh water to quench his thirst. This rustic had the indiscretion to ask the emperor for the timar which he cultivated one part of, and that belonged to one of the principal officers of the spahis. The sultan made no difficulty to deprive of this considerable possession an officer who had done nothing amiss, to give it to a man incapable of rendering the empire any service. Several acts of this kind caused Mustapha to be contemned as much among the troops, as he was despised in the seraglio and divan. In the midst of these troubles, the grand vizier, Mehemet, marched for Persia at the head of an army which was to be increased as he advanced

vanced with the garrisons of the different provinces of Asia. When Mustapha saw himself delivered from the presence of the janissaries, whom he feared, he resigned himself more than ever to the extravagance of his character. It was rumoured abroad that he meant to have his nephews strangled. This resolution was still more senseless than barbarous from a prince that could not prevail with himself to look at a woman, and who knew that the obedience of the Turks to their prince is founded only on their superstitious veneration for the Ottoman blood, which they believe is to last as long as their empire. This imputation, true or false, was made a pretext for raising up the whole state against Mustapha. One might say in his justification, that as he was the absolute master of the lives of Achmet's children, it is clear he had never any intention to put them to death, since he left these princes the time to dethrone him. In fact, the grand vizier Mehemet was hardly six days march from Constantinople, when he received letters from the musti, the caimacan, the kissar aga, and the valid sultaneſs, all which declared to him, that the safety of the state required that he should bring back the army; that Mustapha was on the point of overturning the empire and extinguishing the Ottoman race; that there was no time for hesitating to pull him down from the throne and to place Othman on it, though that prince

J.C. 1618.
Heg. 1027.

J.C. 1618. was only twelve years old, because it was better
 Meg. 1027.  to trust the sovereign power in appearance to a child, than to leave it in reality to a madman; and that the young Othman promised already to make as great an emperor as Achmet his father had been. Mehemet shewed the principal officers the letters which he had just received. The news of the princes' danger, being spread in the army, produced all the effect that the malecontents had expected from it. They hastened their return to Constantinople: the janissaries, impatient, took less time to return to this city, than they had to increase their distance from it. In less than four days the musti, the caimacan, and the kislar aga, received intelligence that the army was almost arrived at the straits. It was easy to conceal this commotion from the emperor. The caimacan engaged him in a hunting party which lasted four days, in which time the janissaries having re-entered Constantinople, the musti published a fetfa, which declared that the destroyer of the reigning family, or at least the man who had such intention, could not remain on the throne; that Mustapha transgressed the law, by refusing to give successors to the empire, and meditating to put those to death whom Achmet had left. The defterdar, or grand treasurer, published a state of the immense sums which the emperor had squandered in the three months that he had been on the throne. The kislar aga,

or

or chief of the black eunuchs, who had the care of the treasures of the royal mosques, declared that, besides the sums which the emperor had so often received from the public treasury, he had likewise taken from the savings of the sacred revenues, which, according to the invariable custom of the empire, could be employed in wars of religion only. In fine, to make the people believe Mustapha a thorough mad-man, they were told that his usual pleasure was to throw pieces of gold into the sea. All these rumours artfully spread, the love of changing, and the hope of a recompense, determined the janissaries and spahis to demand aloud for emperor one of the sons of Achmet, whose memory was so recent and so dear.

J.C. 1618.
Heg. 1027.

He is de-
posed.

O T H M A N II.

SIXTEENTH REIGN.

PRINCE Othman presently appeared in the middle of the people, who replied by acclamations to the intentions of the soldiery. The sword of Othman was girded on him, and the prince placed on the throne of the divan, before Mustapha had learned the return of the army, which he thought on the road to Persia, or any

J.C. 1618.
Heg. 1027.

of the commotions which had taken place at Constantinople. As soon as Othman was proclaimed, Mehemet sent a detachment of spahis against Mustapha; but in order to prevent the new emperor from being polluted with the crime with which his uncle was reproached, the life of the deposed monarch was respected. As soon as his person was secured, which was done without any of his attendants attempting to defend him, he was confined in one of the towers of the seraglio, where he was left to the care of some old slaves. The young emperor, or rather those that made use of his name, scattered gold in the odas of the spahis and janissaries. The tender years of Othman inquieted those officers of the divan and army that were really animated with the love of the public welfare. But the musti, the grand vizier, and all those that hoped to govern in the name of this child, reminded the well affected, that the emperor Achmet, in an age almost as tender, chose able ministers and caused his authority to be respected.

Com-
plaints of
France of
the insult
offered ba-
ron Sancy.

Othman had been emperor but a short time, when there arrived at the Porte an ambassador extraordinary from Lewis XIII. king of France, who came to complain of the insult offered the French nation in the person of baron Sancy. As all those that governed were interested in blaming what had passed under Mustapha, the French had no difficulty to obtain the satisfaction due to them;

them; though the vizier Mehemet had alone committed this infringement of the law of nations, he threw it on the late emperor, and it was agreed that a chiau should be sent into France, with the title of ambassador extraordinary, to disclaim, in the name of the sultan, the fault committed by his predecessor. The superscription of the letter written by the grand seignior to the king of France was: "To the most powerful prince of the belief of Jesus, arbitrator between the Christians, and emperor of France." This letter informed Lewis XIII. of what had passed at the deposing of Mustapha; it confirmed the power which the emperor had given the chiau to promise and swear that his highness would observe the treaties made with his predecessors, and that for the future the French ambassador should be honored and respected at the Porte, as he always ought to have been. Notwithstanding these reparations, baron Sancy could not prevail with himself to remain in a country where he had been so cruelly treated, and where he had run such great risks. He solicited his recall, and count Cefy was sent in his place.

The infancy of the sovereign seemed to require the prime minister to sustain his master on the throne; but a fine army, prepared by the emperor Achmet, had been waiting a long time to be conducted into Persia, or rather into the adjacent country, which Shan Abbas had conquered.

The

J.C. 1618.
Heg. 1027.

The new emperor sends an embassy to France to make reparation.

J.C. 1619.
Heg. 1028.

J.C. 1619.
Heg. 1028.

The grand vizier Mehemet conducts an army into Persia. The other ministers divide in his absence the administration of the government. Viner effendi, formerly preceptor to Othman, gets possession of his confidence.

The vizier considered it as a duty to fulfil the intentions of this old master whose memory he revered. He left the young emperor in the hands of an ambitious, insinuating priest, formerly preceptor to this prince, called Viner effendi. This imman was unceasingly making use of forcible expressions, such as, *the interest of religion, good of the state, glory of the prophet, &c.* Mehemet did not intrust any part of the administration to him in his absence. The caimacan, who always officiates for the grand vizier at Constantinople, when the prime minister commands the army, was to preside in the divan, and consequently to send the orders into the different provinces. The bostangi pachi, captain of Othman's guards, had a great share in his favor, as he always accompanied his master in his excursions by land and sea. The grand eunuch, who had not a little contributed to place Othman on the throne, had likewise credit both by the gratitude of the emperor and the want the prince had of his services. The valid sultaneß, grand-mother to Othman, had acquired considerable pretensions to his confidence. History says nothing of his mother, either that she was dead when Othman ascended the throne, or that her incapacity prevented her from bearing any part in the reign of her son. The sovereign power was divided between those that we have just named. Viner effendi, the only one of them that had no official authority, perceived

ceived that his power would depend on the degree of influence which he should be able to assume over the mind and actions of his pupil. He was the enemy of Sandar bashaw, the aga of the janissaries. He endeavoured to prejudice his master against a corps which had contributed to the placing of him on the throne, and which consequently could deprive him of it. He was continually painting to him the danger which this insolent soldiery made all those run that durst attack their interests or did not favor their caprices: and in order that this prince might with greater facility throw off the authority of those that, governing in his name, were in no haste to give him a very perfect knowledge of government, he advised him to rove about Constantinople in disguise, the better to study the manners of the people, and to endeavour to discover abuses.

The emperor, agreeably to this advice, visited the mosques, coffee-houses, imarets or public colleges, squares, and markets. He entered into conversation with those that appeared capable of giving him information. The bostangi pachi accompanied him in all these excursions; but Othman was yet too young to see with an eye of observation. He was principally shocked at the frequent use which the Turks, and particularly the janissaries, made of wine. The principles which Viner effendi had inculcated in him, were very austere on all the practices of religion and the observation of
the

J.C. 1619.
Heg. 1028.

J.C. 1619.
Heg. 1028.

the laws of Mahomet. Othman's zeal was several times so heated at the sight of drunken people, who raised up quarrels and caused disorders in the streets of Constantinople, that he made himself known and ordered the delinquents to be seized and put to immediate death. The bostangi pachi, the emperor's faithful escort, was obliged to assemble troops and seek executioners. The misfortune fell almost always on the janissaries; this was the commencement of the reciprocal hatred between the emperor and that soldiery.

Misplaced
severity of
young
Othman.

J.C. 1620.
Heg. 1029.

Whilst the young monarch was manifesting, by acts of rigour, a power which his age did not permit him to make a beneficial use of, his grand vizier repaired the losses that the empire had suffered from the Persians. This general was fortunate in all his enterprises: two bloody battles regained him all the country that the sophi had conquered. As this prince received no succour, whatever from the European powers, who had promised him to make a diversion both by sea and land, he was constrained to pay the tribute of seventy loads of silk, the refusal of which had been the cause of the war. The grand vizier, on his return to Constantinople, where he entered with all the pomp of triumph, did not live long to enjoy his glory. A fit of sickness carried him off, and he nominated Dilaver bashaw, the caimacan, to succeed him. The emperor, who was
not

not yet capable of choos'ing, was docile to the advice of the expiring minister, as the subtle caimacan had found means to please his master's preceptor, and this effendi hoped to govern in the name of a complaisant grand vizier. He prevented the aga of the janissaries from having the place of caimacan, and thereby excited more and more that corps against the emperor and himself. The young monarch aspired at glory; he fancied, like the generality of mankind, that war was the surest road to acquire it. An occasion soon offered. Betlem Gabor, waywode of Transylvania, had taken advantage of the troubles excited by the reformers in Bohemia and Hungary, to make war with success against the house of Austria. The emperor Ferdinand II. had interested in his quarrel Sigismund king of Poland, who assisted him with considerable succours. The waywode of Transylvania, wishing to balance this auxiliary power, proposed to the Turks the conquest of Austria: it was wanting, he said, to the rounding of the Ottoman empire. Betlem Gabor sent word to the young monarch, that, if he would succour his vassals, as it was the interest of so great a prince to do, he, the waywode, would promise Othman to procure him soon a triumphal entry into Vienna. Such brilliant offers heated a young prince who longed to signalize himself; but Othman still listened to

J.C. 1620.
Heg. 1029.

J.C. 1620.
Heg. 1029.

Othman's
ardour for
war. He
prepares
for one
with Po-
land.

the advice of his ministers. They represented to him, that nothing should engage a Mussulman prince to break a treaty which his allies faithfully observed. Othman, to reconcile the Mahometan faith with the warlike ardour which inflamed him, resolved to attack the king of Poland, with whom he was not engaged by any treaty, on the trifling pretext of some Cossacks' having made incursions into the dominions of the Turkish empire. He drew from Asia all the timarians, who were enjoying a tranquility to which their ancestors had been strangers; he ordered numerous levies of asaps to be made in all the provinces; and, by an attention worthy of his years, he was more solicitous about the pomp of this armament, than about what should render it formidable. The richest of the timariahs had brought with them a number of troopers well mounted and sumptuously clothed and armed. Their magnificence dazzled the young monarch, who publicly compared these brilliant troops with the janissaries clothed in coarse dresses, and whose sole finery consisted in long fuses and heavy swords. Othman's hatred against this corps appeared continually. Those, who meditated to please their master or to gratify their personal resentment, rather than to serve the state and the sultan, incensed more and more this young prince. A crime, with which Othman polluted himself

proir

Seeds of
hatred be-
tween him
and the ja-
nissaries.

prior to his beginning the war, alienated from him still more this soldiery which he had so much interest to please. J.C. 1620.
Heg. 1029.

The emperor had brothers, the eldest of whom was a year younger than himself. This prince, called Mehemet, of a noble, engaging figure, was as much admired by the janissaries as the emperor was hated. Mehemet had several times gone out of the seraglio to take the diversion of the field, or to bear part in those exercises of address which the young men of Constantinople perform before the people in the Hippodrom. The janissaries, and all the Turks after their example, [made the air resound with their acclamations which expressed their prayers for the life of Mehemet, and that it would please God to give them a master like him. His successes soon excited the monarch's jealousy: he remembered that his ancestors had taken precautions against their brothers; and he resolved to deprive the janissaries of the power of doing for Mehemet what they had done for him. The young prince's death was presently determined on; the approaching departure of Othman would not permit him to defer it. It is said, that, when this barbarous order was executed, this young victim made imprecations against the tyrant that wrested his life from him, and to whom he predicted an approaching death, as violent as that to which he

J.C. 1621.
Heg. 1030.
He has his
brother
Mehemet
put to
death.

J.C. 1621.
Heg. 1030.

had so unjustly condemned him. Though the custom of massacring the brothers of the emperors had been abolished only since Achmet, the people, who had flattered themselves that they should never more see this barbarity, learned the death of the young Mehemet with so much horror, that the ministers dissuaded Othman from putting to death his uncle Mustapha, or any of his other brothers, who were all in infancy.

The emperor marches towards Poland.

At length the time of setting out for Poland being arrived, the emperor marched towards Moldavia with an escort of twenty thousand men. On his arrival in that province at the general rendezvous, he found himself at the head of three hundred thousand fighting men. Sandar bashaw, who had 'till then commanded the Turks and Tartars combined, had put to flight Solkiewski the Polish general; the latter, being returned home with the broken remains of his beaten army, prevailed on Sigismund his master to convoke the republic in order to obtain new succours. These people, so little under subjection, comprehended the necessity of fighting for their country. A hundred thousand men, nobles and plebeians, appeared in an instant under the colours of Sigismund. This army was placed under the command of the palatine of Wilna, who in this war served as lieutenant to prince Uladislaus the son of the king of Poland. These brave patriots, assembled on the confines of Moldavia and Poland

Poland near the castle of Choczin, waited for the enemy in an advantageous camp. The arrival of the Ottoman army, at least twice as numerous as theirs, did not terrify them in the least. So much riches displayed to the eyes of the Poles seemed only to offer them a rich booty. Othman, full of the ancient renown of the Turks, encouraged by the number and magnificence of his soldiers, whom he fancied more formidable with gold hilted swords and clubs bound with polished steel, gold, silver, &c. than they would have been with arms of less value, hastened to come to action, notwithstanding the disadvantage of the ground: he was beaten by a prince of his own age well seconded; and, though Othman flew with eagerness wherever his presence could reanimate his soldiers, he experienced what good advice, coolness, and experience, can do in war, against number and even imprudent courage. The Turks lost in this battle a great many more officers, in comparison, than soldiers. Othman, who had declared himself for close fighting, had animated all those that wished to merit his esteem. The battalions of janissaries were not let loose on the Polish troops 'till a great number of timarians had lost their lives, in seeking to make themselves conspicuous to their master. The shock of these closed battalions, whose efforts might be likened to those of a heavy, murdering machine formed to crush every thing that comes in its way,

J.C. 1621.
Heg. 1030.

He attacks
Uladiſlaus
near Choc-
zin.

J.C. 1621.
Heg. 1030.

He is re-
pulsed.

way, was unable to recover the victory. Othmān, crying with rage, and accusing the janissaries of having lost their ancient valour, ordered the retreat to be sounded. The palatine of Wîna would not advise his prince to pursue them: the situation of his camp was too advantageous to be exposed to the hazard of losing it. But as Othman could not remain quiet, the palatine repulsed every day some of the different corps which the sultan sent to attack him. Never was there a campaign of the Turks more universally unfortunate. A sovereign little otherwise than a child, who opposed only ardour, rashness, and obstinacy, to the coolness of an old general, sufficiently esteemed by the son of his king, for the latter to rely entirely on his experience; an immortal vizier, who commanded soldiers, either badly disciplined or discontented, in a country that he did not know, and where the inhabitants fought only to lay ambushes; whole corps revolted against their master, stifling a secret joy at all the misfortunes which they experienced and at the little success of their arms; every thing seemed to favor the less number, and the constant efforts of those who fought in their own country for their homes, their families, and every thing most dear to them. The grand seignior, who, notwithstanding so many repulses, had always the superiority in number, endeavoured to surround the Poles in their camp and take them
by

by famine. As this manner of fighting was slow and but little conformable to the fiery character of Othman, he resolved to go with a corps of fifty thousand men and attack a small place on the left of the Poles' camp, whilst the latter, contented with stopping such a numerous army, should remain blocked up. This castle, built on the top of a steep hill, on which it would have been impossible to get up cannon, thundered on all that attempted to approach it. The emperor, having contemplated with astonishment this inaccessible place, asked who could have fortified it so. *God Almighty*, answered the vizier, meaning to say, without doubt, that nature had done every thing. *Well!* replied the prince, *let God take it then if he will*, and immediately he rejoined the mean body of his army.

J.C. 1621.
Heg. 1030.

He besieges
a place
without
success.

The interest of the Poles was to tire out their enemies, and to obtain by that mean an honorable peace; but a scarcity began to be felt in the camp; and though the parties which they sent to the neighbouring towns were generally so fortunate as to pass safe, after having broken through the Turkish lines, and to return to their camp with the same success, the small quantity of provisions that they brought with them was insufficient for the support of the troops. The palatine of Wilna died of a disorder which began to be contagious. In his last moments he recommended to the prince, son of the king of Poland, the glory

J.C. 1627.
Heg. 1030. } glory and preservation of their common country,
 Young Uladislauſ chose for ſucceſſor to this able general, him whom he believed the ableſt after him. Lubomiſtki, whoſe experience and talents rendered him worthy of commanding ſuch brave men, did not reſuſe this employ in the time when it was more difficult than ever. Though the ſituation of the Poles became more and more diſagreeable, Lubomiſtki would by no means quit a camp which ſhut the entrance of Poland againſt a powerful army, and the ſecurity of which daily procured new ſucceſſes to his troops who wanted encouragement. As he had intelligent ſpies, he relied on the diſunion ſaid to be in the Turkiſh camp, on the diſcontent of the janiffaries, the incapacity of the chiefs, and the raſh valour of a young prince who, being accuſtomed to have nothing reſiſt him, was likely to make the moſt dangerous and inconfiderate attempts. And indeed, the diſgrace of ſeeing the main body of his army ſtopped for ſo long a time, and being beaten by piece-meal almoſt every day, made him order a general aſſault on the enemy's camp. The advantage of the Poles, who defended themſelves in a favorable place, behind good intrenchments, and who ſtruck, as they approached, enemies already out of breath by the time they came within their reach, was a ſufficient compensation for the difference of number. The emperor would have his janiffaries, who had been repulſed three times


times with great loss, charge a fourth; and as his vizier and the aga of that soldiery represented to the prince that he would sacrifice his best soldiers in an attack which destroyed them to no purpose: “When I shall have lost these asses, exclaimed the emperor in a rage, I shall be able to find good horses to supply their places with.” This expression, which was told the janissaries, did not a little contribute to the misfortune which the imprudent Othman experienced a short time after. This bloody attack had no other success than that predicted by the generals: it augmented the discouragement of the assailants, and raised the hope of those that had made such a noble defence against them. But the contagion made such constant ravages in their camp, that prince Uladislaus and his lieutenants did not expect any other fruit from their resistance than an approaching and more honorable peace than they had at first hoped for.

The deputies that they sent to the Turks were favorably received; they were conducted through the camp, in order to dazzle them with the magnificence that reigned there and the number of soldiers still remaining, notwithstanding so many losses. The Poles were at first received by the waywode of Walachia, who had followed Othman to the army, and who, as a Christian prince, offered hospitality to the deputies, and his mediation in the object of their mission. The

J.C. 1621.
Heg. 1030.

He is obstinate in blocking up the Poles in their camp.

J.C. 1621.
Heg. 1030.


 Poles, having accepted both, had, a few hours after, an audience of the grand vizier, who was accompanied by the other viziers of the bench and Viner effendi, the emperor's preceptor. These ministers began with demanding, that commissioners should be named to agree on the limits; which was granted without the least difficulty; but the grand vizier having added that the sublime emperor required that the chiefs of the Cossacks, who were the first cause of the war, should be given up to him, and that Poland should acknowledge him for its high sovereign, the deputies rejected these two propositions with firmness, saying, that the Cossacks were zealous subjects of the republic of Poland, who had always served it faithfully, and who had done no more against the Turks than what the Tartars, who were subjects of the eastern empire, had done before against their republic; that with respect to their becoming vassals of the Turkish emperor, the republic of Poland had never acknowledged, nor never would acknowledge in future, any other chief than the king whom it had a right to choose; and that the success of the war proved that it was worthy of styling itself the equal of the Ottoman empire. The viziers, offended at this resistance, having told the deputies that they might retire, if they did not acquiesce in the demands made them, the latter returned towards their camp. The grand vizier had

had them recalled; and, after a new conference, in which the Ottoman ministers appeared much more complying, one of the deputies was sent back to the Polish camp, to propose to prince Uladislaus and the plenipotentiary palatines of the republic, the following conditions: That commissioners should be appointed to re-establish the ancient limits such as they had been known; that the Cossacks and Tartars should respectively be forbidden to attack the new allies, and that the two contracting powers should equally punish the offenders; that the Polish ambassador, who should go to Constantinople for the ratification of the treaty, should be received as the minister of an ally, and should carry presents, without these marks of good will being considered as tribute. These propositions having been accepted by the prince and palatines, the deputy returned to the Turkish camp, bringing with him a Polish lord, who was to follow the emperor to Constantinople in quality of ambassador ordinary. The next day Othman gave a solemn audience to the deputies; he received them sitting on his throne with as much pomp as if he had been in his palace at Constantinople. These Poles, after the usual ceremonies, presented the emperor with the treaty signed by the plenipotentiaries, and addressed him in a noble and respectful speech, the substance of which was, that they offered to one of the most powerful monarchs in the world, not

J.C. 1621.
Heg. 1030.

Peace concluded between Poland & the Ottoman empire.

J.C. 1621.
Heg. 1030.



gold and precious stones, which he was better furnished with than any other potentate, but arms, the sole riches that they possessed, and which had served them to merit his esteem. This harangue was accompanied with two pieces of cannon, brought to the entrance of the emperor's tent, and with a quiver of arrows which the deputies left at the foot of the throne. After the ceremony the Poles were entertained in the grand vizier's tent. The night was passed in rejoicings in the two camps. The next day the Turks required that the Poles should decamp first, and repass the Niester, a river which was to form the most conspicuous boundary of their territory. The Polish troops were in such bad order, so worn out with fatigue, disease, and all the evils attendant on misery, that the Turks, who saw them file off, were ashamed at having treated with such a weakened army. Not above a quarter of those that marched from Poland returned. The sight of these languishing troops offered rather the idea of prisoners escaped from a long captivity, than of a brave army that had just procured their country an honorable peace. The Turks, who had not suffered so much, had lost more than one third of their soldiers by the enemy's sword; they retired with their riches and all the resentment which the army retained against their emperor and the emperor against his army.

The two
armies re-
tire.

It

It was soon rumoured that Othman had a mind to extinguish the corps of janissaries. He had threatened it several times. They learned that he had sent to Grand Cairo to levy infantry, when the whole empire was enjoying a profound peace: and it was remarked, that, whenever Othman went out of the seraglio, the bostangis and topgis, the former of which are intended only to guard the inside of the palace and look after the gardens, and the latter are matrosses, composed his retinue and alone shared his liberalities. The spahis and janissaries, equally irritated at this sort of favor, expressed aloud their discontent. This was still worse when the emperor declared his intention of taking a journey to Mecca. All those, that were interested in rendering the court odious, published that the ministers of this child, who had been made emperor, were taking advantage of his youth to overturn the government; that it was not only these two corps, the conquerors and founders of the Ottoman empire, that were aimed at, but that Constantinople would no longer be the most flourishing city in the world; that the seat of the empire was going to be removed to Mecca, as the monarch's greedy counsellors would find an opportunity to enrich themselves in this transmigration. The malecontents saw, or would fain make others see, what had no kind of foundation. Othman had never an idea of making Mecca the capital of the empire;

J.C. 1622.
Heg. 1031.

The soldiers and people are equally discontented with the prince.

J.C. 1622.
Heg. 1031.

pire ; but his old preceptor, Viner effendi, as we have already observed, had preserved a considerable influence over the mind of his master. The brother of Viner, a mollah* at Mecca, met with contradictions from the cheriff§ there, who disputed part of the authority with him, and a number of pecuniary rights. This cherif was very powerful and greatly beloved. Viner effendi had persuaded Othman to make this pilgrimage, from which most of the emperors had, so far, excused themselves, in order that the presence of the master might eclipse the cherif, and restore the mollah the privileges which he fancied belonged to him. This trifling concern was the origin of that great revolution which we are going to relate, and that presently produced a second. Viner effendi, who wished to please his master before every other consideration, had taught him to condemn the customs which the emperors cannot neglect without exciting a great scandal and risking their authority. We have already seen that the pride of the Ottoman monarchs had deterred them from marrying, and that they never took to their bed any others than concubines. Othman, notwithstanding the example of his ancestors, who, since Solyman, had avoided a yoke which the Turks consider as incompatible with the

* The mollahs are the cadis of the great towns.

§ This cherif is prince of Mecca; he is taken from the race of emirs or descendants of Mahomet, and is appointed by the grand seignior; he has only a precarious and limited authority,

the sovereign power, overcome by a blind passion, resolved to marry the daughter of a sultaneſs, the ſiſter of the emperor Mahomet III. and of a baſhaw the huſband of that princeſs. Neither the representations of the muſti, nor of all the great men, leſs flatterers than Viner, could prevail on this young prince, convinced that nothing in the world ought to conſtrain his pleaſure. All Conſtantinople was full of indignation. The clamours againſt this innovation and the journey to Mecca became ſo unanimous, that the muſti, the friend of the people and jealous of Viner, publiſhed of the own accord, a ſetſa, which declared the marriage contracted by the emperor inconſiſtent with the dignity of the throne. This ſetſa decided likewiſe, that the good of the ſtate had ever exempted the emperors from the pilgrimage to Mecca; that ſuch an act of devotion could not be agreeable to God from ſovereigns obliged to watch over their people.

J.C. 1622.
Heg. 1031.

The muſti
iſſues a ſet-
ſa againſt
the mar-
riage con-
tracted by
the empe-
ror, and
againſt a
journey
which he
propoſes
making to
Mecca.

This decree of the muſti's was a ſufficient authority for the rebellion of the janiffaries, who moreover learned that the troops levied at Grand Cairo were to meet the emperor to compoſe his guard. For ſeveral days all the ſquares were full of odas pachis, torpachis, and adjacs agas, (it is thus they call the different ranks of the officers of the janiffaries) who, more alarmed than the private ſoldiers, conferred together how to preſerve their corps from the fall with which it was threatened.

Com-
mence-
ment of
the revo-
lution.

J.C. 1622.
Heg. 1031.

threatened. Their aga, the sworn enemy of Viner effendi, had the boldness to declare to the emperor, that the corps of janissaries and spahis manifested an uneasiness which might produce fatal consequences, if the emperor did not determine to repudiate his new spouse, and to remove from his counsels those that incensed him against the most useful servants that the Ottoman house had ever employed. This boldness was like to cost the aga of the janissaries his life, who, having left the seraglio, complained greatly of the manner in which his salutary advice had been received. The next day the ulema being assembled in the mosque of sultan Achmet, the janissaries and spahis ran thither in crowds, raising over their heads the musti's fetfa, and demanding that the effendis should divert the emperor from going to Mecca, and obtain the repudiation of the sultaneßs. On the clamours of this soldiery, the effendis decided that it was time to warn his highness of what had happened, and of what might happen, if he continued his resolution of leaving Constantinople, as the tents and baggage that were transporting to Scutari seemed to announce, or if any troops should approach the capital. Twenty of the ulema, the most venerable by their age and acquired consideration, presented themselves at the foot of the throne, and painted to the emperor, in very strong colours, the general discontent which the pilgrimage

grimage to Mecca and his marriage excited; ^{J.S. 1622. Heg. 1031.} they added likewise that the intended reduction of the janissaries alarmed all the good Mussulmen, who remembered with veneration the institution of that soldiery, particularly consecrated to God by the ministry of a prophet, and all the conquests which they had made for the glory of the empire and the house of Ottoman. These good effendis, having spoken with great sensibility and force of expression, concluded with a hint that a rebellion was on the point of breaking out. The young prince, who was not used to menaces, exclaimed: *I will exterminate all the spahis and all the janissaries, but not 'till I have had all you pounded in a mortar.* The effendis retired affrighted, and the grand vizier threw himself at the feet of Othman, and said to him with tears in his eyes: "Great prince, put me to death, " but save your empire, your life, and friends." These words and the manner in which they were spoken by the vizier, were felt by the emperor but could not divert him from his purpose. He replied, that, the more the troops seemed to oppose his journey to Mecca, the more he was determined on it; that he would not accustom the janissaries to give him law.

The grand seignior abuses the effendis that make representations to him.

Meanwhile, the twenty effendis being returned to the mosque of sultan Achmet, informed the officers of the spahis and janissaries, how they had been received by the emperor. On this, the

J.C. 1622.
Heg. 1031.

clamours redoubled within and without the mosque. It was unanimously agreed to go to Viner effendi, who was the monarch's only adviser, to procure a promise from him, that his prince should repudiate the sultaness; that he would not go to Mecca, and not permit the troops to approach Constantinople; in case of refusal they swore that they would tear him to pieces who had so badly advised the em-

The janissaries and people flock tumultuously to the house of Viner effendi, then to the grand vizier's, and lastly to the seraglio.

peror. A torpachi of the janissaries put himself at the head of those that went to the palace of Viner effendi: this troop, which increased as it passed the streets, presently arrived before the house, which they found shut. The doors were forced sooner than they could have been opened. The janissaries found only some terrified slaves there who were incapable of defending their master's effects from pillage, and who declared on oath to those that demanded Viner effendi, that the codgea or preceptor was fled. Darud (that was the name of the torpachi who headed the mutineers), without losing more time in pillaging, conducted his troop to the grand vizier's, to demand of that minister what they had at first intended to obtain from Viner effendi. The palace of Dilaver bashaw was shut like that of Viner. The grand vizier's guards, who saw a confused multitude, armed only with white sticks as the janissaries are during peace, resolved to make some resistance against their reiterated threats

threats of forcing the door. They fired from the windows and killed several of these mutineers. J.E. 1622.
Heg. 1031.

This only increased their indignation and the disorder; in an instant all the shops in Constantinople were shut. The people mixed with the foldiers, and this multitude ran to the seraglio, crying, they would have the heads of the codgea Viner effendi and the grand vizier Dilaver. The outer gate of the seraglio was open, and a profound silence reigned in the first court; they were afraid that this apparent calm concealed ambushes, particularly as it was rumoured that the grand seignior had armed the icoglans and bostangis. Darud, that he might not be taken by surprise, ordered sentinels to get up on the minarets of the mosque near the seraglio, from which every thing could be discovered that passed within this vast edifice. The sentinels did not perceive the least appearance of men in arms; the bostangis and icoglans were so terrified that they had shut themselves up in the odas of the seraglio. The imprudent Othman had taken no other precaution against this mutinous soldiery than to have all the inner doors shut. The arrival of night appeased the tumult; but the rebels, so far from abandoning their enterprise, knew how to employ the time to advantage.

The night
disperſes
the rebels.

Whilst Othman was congratulating himself on the dispersion of this rebellious troop, and determining within himself to punish the chiefs, Darud

The rebel-
lion re-
commen-
ces with
the day.

J.C. 1622.
Heg. 1031.

The janissaries, armed, force the seraglio, and demand six victims without obtaining them.

and the other officers, both of the spahis and janissaries, collected arms and took their measures for putting an end to what they had but just begun. At break of day, the janissaries and spahis left their odas, not in disorder and armed with white sticks as the day before, but with muskets and swords with their colours and instruments of war, followed by levantis drawing with them cannon from the ships, which they had had time to place on carriages. A crowd of soldiers from other corps, and some of the inhabitants of Constantinople, followed these regular troops, who, keeping their ranks, marched under the command of their officers. They first got possession of the outside walls and all the gates of the seraglio; after which they entered the first court, crying aloud that they would have the blood of the codea Viner, the grand vizier Dilaver, the caimacan, the grand desterdar, the kislar aga, and a bashaw called Tchaous. All these officers were accused of having given advice to the sultan, of being the cause of his marriage, of his journey to Mecca, and of the levying of troops at Grand Cairo. The rebels then demanded six victims instead of two only, which they had marked out the day before. As all the seraglio remained in silence notwithstanding this tumult, they brought forward the cannon to beat down the gate which communicated with the second court, and having found there the same solitude and tranquility, the can-

non then opened a communication with the third court. The people who were not armed had taken billets of wood that they found piled up in the second court, with which each of them had made himself a sort of club. As soon as the cannon had beaten down the gates, the populace entered in a crowd. Some icoglans, baltagis, and bostangis, told the grand vizier that there were people in the divan court, but that they did not see any soldiers among them. Though Dilaver, who was in the divan chamber with the effendis and bashaws of the bench, had heard that they had proscribed his head, he thought his presence would have weight with a populace without a chief, and that this firmness would make those return to their duty whom the silence of the seraglio had encouraged to a revolt. He went out accompanied by some chiaus and the bostangi pachi; the other members of the divan, not so rash as the grand vizier, shut the doors after him with precipitation. The prime minister had no sooner appeared, than he was murdered by these same people that he had pretended to disperse. The bostangi pachi was beloved, as he had often disarmed the grand seignior's rage, and saved the life of the condemned. It was well known likewise that he had done his utmost to prevent the raising of new levies: notwithstanding the rage of the people, there was no injury done this officer, whom the janissaries openly protected.

J.C. 1622.
Heg. 1031.

They massacre the grand vizier.

J.C. 1622.
Heg. 1031. **protected.** They invited him even to take part
 in the revolt; but he got away in the crowd, and never appeared again during the whole revolution.

Meanwhile, the troops were ranged in battle in the divan court. Darud and those that he made his lieutenants placed guards all around the outside of the seraglio, without presuming at first to attack the buildings. The people and soldiers repeated unceasingly the names of the five victims, demanding that the emperor should promise not to go to Mecca, disband the new levies from Grand Cairo, and repudiate his wife. The lot which the prime minister had just experienced cured the other ministers shut up in the divan of any desire to open the doors. Notwithstanding the inaction of the troops, who, always in order of battle, contented themselves with loudly repeating their demands, the emperor and all his servants remained shut up, and persevered in an obstinate silence. At length, two hours having past since the massacre of the grand vizier, an unknown voice from the ranks cried; "We will have
 " sultan Mustapha, the uncle of Othman, for
 " our emperor; let him appear and reign." This cry was immediately repeated by all the troops: and the soldiers, forgetting their victims, no longer pronounced but: *We will have sultan Mustapha for our emperor.* The chiaus that had come out with the unfortunate grand vizier were
 afraid

afraid of meeting the same fate as the minister: J.C. 1622.
Heg. 1031. no mischief had been done them, but they were prevented from getting away. The mutineers obliged them to point out the place where sultan Mustapha was imprisoned; the chiaus, shaking with terror, shewed a small, round, low building that joined the haram, and which was covered on the top with a leaded dome. The troops having approached it, repeated with loud acclamations the name of Mustapha. A doleful voice replied: *You ask for me and I likewise ask for you.* There was no door in this place that opened into the court. No light entered to it but through some holes made in the dome, which they soon found ladders to mount to. The janissaries cut open the dome with axes, and discovered in a corner of this sort of dungeon sultan Mustapha very thin and pale, lying on a mattress, and surrounded by some female negroes who served him. As soon as this prince perceived the light and the first janissaries, who saluted him emperor, he desired some water, saying that he had not drunk for two days. They drew him from this place with ropes through the breach which the axes had made. He no sooner felt the air than he fainted away, and remained a long time in that situation.

They cut
open the
prison of
Mustapha
with axes.

Meanwhile, the rumour of what was passing having reached the inner part of the seraglio, the doors of the divan were at length thrown open, and all the effendis came out at the same time, suppli-

J.C. 1622.
Heg. 1031.

They pro-
claim this
prince and
oblige the
ulema to
take the
oaths to
him.

supplicating and assuring the rebels, that sultan Othman had given over all thoughts of going to Mecca ; that he had signed an order for disbanding the troops from Grand Cairo ; that he was ready to repudiate his wife ; and that he would deliver them the victims which they had demanded, as soon as the odas should be returned to their duty. “ Leave sultan Mustapha in his prison, said the effendis to them ; what can you expect from a prince whose imbecillity has constrained you to depose him ? ” Mustapha, against whom they were speaking, was returned to life. The chiefs of the janissaries declared to all the effendis, that they must instantly acknowledge this prince for their master, and take the oaths to him. As they attempted to make resistance, repeating rather loudly that sultan Othman was the lawful emperor, more than a thousand swords were drawn at the same time, which made them presently change their tone. The musti was the first that took the oaths to this prince, whom he had just before treated as an idiot, and all the members of the ulema, at least those that were present, followed the example.

The first act of authority done by Mustapha, was to appoint Darut, his deliverer, grand vizier. As the new prime minister had as much interest as his master to finish what the janissaries had begun, he mounted Mustapha on the musti's horse to conduct him to the mosque called Ortadjami,

jami, in which this prince was to have the sword of Othman girded on. But he was so weak, that the effort which he made to mount on horseback, threw him a second time into a swoon. They went for a carriage, in which he was conveyed to the old seraglio, as the bostangis made no difficulty to open it.

When Othman learned that the janissaries and spahis had intimidated the ulema, that the musti and all the effendis had taken the oaths to his uncle, and that the streets resounded with the name of Mustapha, his obstinacy and rage changed into despair; he made woful lamentations, and asked the officers that surrounded him if they likewise were going to abandon him. The aga of the janissaries, who believed himself beloved by his corps, bitterly reproached the prince with his conduct to that powerful soldiery, which, he said, had conquered the whole Ottoman empire; he offered at length to go to the spahis and janissaries to offer them presents from the sultan, and to endeavour to prevail on them to again acknowledge him for their master. This monarch so absolute felt for the first time sentiments of gratitude, and would fain have descended to intreaties; but it was too late. At the very time the aga of the janissaries left the seraglio to make this proposal to the troops, the noise of martial music told him that they were conducting their new emperor to the mosque.

Othman
learns the
proclama-
tion of his
rival.

J.C. 1622.
Heg. 1031.

Mustapha, preceded by the janissaries, and surrounded by the spahis on horseback, with almost all the ulema, and the new great officers that he had just appointed, was drawn towards the Hippodrom in an open carriage with all the pomp which the shortness of the time would admit of. The aga of the janissaries repaired to the mosque before him, and placed himself at the head of his men as soon as he saw them appear. He was at first received with respect, and the most considerable among the janissaries flocked around their chief to hear what he had to say to them; but as soon as they heard that he wanted to persuade them to undo their work and re-acknowledge Othman for emperor, notwithstanding the promise of ten sequins per janissary, and an augmentation of pay for the spahis of ten aspers each, all their swords were drawn in an instant, and the soldiers that were not near the unfortunate aga seemed enraged that they could not have a thrust at him. Another bashaw of the bench, called Huffsain, arrived at the same moment riding full speed, and crying with all his might: "Rebels, here is your emperor coming towards you, prostrate yourselves before this redoubtable master." He had no sooner approached the battalions, than he was cut to pieces. Othman was come out of the seraglio, relying on the negociation of the aga; and whilst this prince was proceeding slowly towards the Hippodrom, Huffsain, who was more attached

attached to him than his other servants, went on before, lest his master should risk his liberty or even life, and that he might give the prince time, should there be occasion, to escape by another road. The conjecture of the faithful Hussain proved but too true; but his blood was of no use to his master whom he had intended to serve.

Othman, warned of the danger that he was running, when he was near the Hippodrom, attempted to return; but a detachment of spahis galloped after him, and having overtaken and surrounded the sultan, forced him to enter the same mosque where the sword of Othman had been just girded on Mustapha. On his arrival in the Hippodrom, Othman perceived the bloody bodies of the aga of the janissaries and Hussain bashaw, who had just died for him. He was told who they were, for the number of wounds which they had received had so disfigured them, that it was impossible to know them again. "What have these unfortunate men done then?" cried Othman sufficiently loud to be heard by those that surrounded him: "they have never spoken to me but in favor of this ungrateful soldiery." At the sight of this young prince, who shewed his compassion, and who merited it himself, the janissaries exclaimed: "Let Othman be deposed, but let his days be respected."

On his arrival at the mosque, they conducted him into a room the windows of which looked

J.C. 1622.
Heg. 1031.

Othman
is carried
to the
mosque,
where he
meets
Mustapha.

J.C. 1622. into the great nave, which was full of soldiers.
 Heg. 1031.

Sultan Mustapha, returned from the ceremony of girding on the sword, was reposing himself in this same chamber. When he saw the young prince enter surrounded by several officers, the feeble emperor did not doubt that his nephew had gained over the soldiers. His prisoner appeared in his eyes a master ready to punish him: he fell on his knees and with tears begged for mercy. The unfortunate Othman regarded with a contemptuous smile this new monarch in a posture so mortifying: "See," said he to those that surrounded him, "the master that you prefer to me; behold the successor of so many conquerors, he who should make you be dreaded by the infidel nations!" "My lord," said one of the torpachis to him, "these conquerors of whom you are speaking gained their empire by the edge of our swords, and not with troops picked up in Egypt which you wanted to substitute for us." "If my youth has been led astray by bad counsels," replied Othman, "my misfortune should instruct me for the future: therefore restore me the authority which I am more capable of exercising than any of the other princes of the Ottoman race." As the janissaries seemed to listen to him with attention, the new grand vizier, Darud, in whom the little authority then existing entirely lay, wanted to have the deposed monarch strangled; but

Ris:
 which he
 runs in this
 mosque.

but all the janissaries present opposed it, because the multitude had declared that Othman should preserve his life, and that if they were to attempt it, they would run a risk of being torn to pieces. "Monster," said Othman to this sanguinary ring-leader, "if I had put thee to death the first time that thou deservedst punishment, I should not now be in danger of my life." This altercation, having raised several voices, was partly heard in the body of the mosque. The janissaries cried again: "Preserve the life of sultan Othman." The guards conducted him to the window which looked into this great nave, in order that every body might see him. On this, the unfortunate prince said to them: "Dear janissaries, dear spahis, if I have attempted any thing against you, I have followed pernicious counsels; acknowledge again the voice of your emperor, and return to your obedience, or put me to death rather than expose me longer to the insults which I endure." The clamours of the people and soldiers were heard from every part; they repeated: "Let not Othman be emperor, but let him live." The prince having lost all hopes, replied: "let me be shut up at least, that I may be out of the way of so many indignities."

Meanwhile, the carriage which had brought sultan Mustapha to the mosque, carried him back to the seraglio of the emperors, followed by the great

J.C. 1622.
Heg. 1031.

J.C. 1622.
Heg. 1031.

He is con-
ducted to
the Seven
Towers, &
strangled
the next
day.

Present
which Da-
rud bashaw
makes his
master.

great officers, the principal timarians, and the spahis, which formed a numerous cavalcade.

This prince had ordered Othman to be shut up in the prison that the new sultan had inhabited four years; but Darud bashaw, who had not given up his project of taking the dethroned monarch's life, had him conducted to the Seven Towers, in order to divert the eyes of the spahis and janissaries from this unfortunate prince.

The day after the revolution, he entered the chamber where the sultan was guarded, and had him strangled in his presence, in the month of October 1622, after which he ordered one of his ears to be cut off and be carried from him in a box to sultan Mustapha. This minister, or rather assassin, wrote on the cover of the box: *A*

present for the sublime emperor, whom his faithful minister has served against his consent. One may suppose, that neither Viner effendi, nor the kissar aga, nor the three others that had been proscribed with Dilaver bashaw, escaped the cruelty of the new grand vizier, who, as a reward for the service which he had just rendered his prince, married, three days after, the eldest of his sisters. The unfortunate Othman was carried without pomp to the sepulchre of the emperor Achmet. This young monarch owed all his misfortunes and faults to his inexperience and the flatterers that misled him. He was born with an elevated soul, and would perhaps have done great things, if he

had

had not become the absolute master of an empire, J.C. 1622.
Heg. 1031.
in an age when a man cannot be his own without
great danger.

M U S T A P H A I.

R E S T O R E D.

MUSTAPHA, deposed four years before for
his utter incapacity, was not become more Incapacity
of the new
emperor.
worthy of the throne in the dungeon where he
had been guarded. The only change which it had
made in him, was, that he granted much more
power to the valid sultaneſs, his mother, whom
he had confounded in his former reign with all
womankind, whom he made a profeſſion of hating.
This ſultaneſs, endowed with more ability than
all the other odaliſks that had, like her, been
brought up in the ſeraglio, adviſed the new mo-
narch to conceal himſelf from the eyes of his
courtiers, and particularly from the military
commanders, from whom it was requiſite to hide
his weakneſs. It was reported that Muſtapha
was conſtantly in prayer; that the prophet fre-
quently appeared to him; and in the mean time
the valid ſultaneſs and the grand vizier, Darud,
poſſeſſed themſelves of the ſovereign authority.
The latter did not retain it a long time. The
people

J.C. 1622.
Heg. 1031.

people could not remain always ignorant of Othman's death, or of the accomplices of this outrage.

The janissaries, who were often reproached with having dipped their hands in the blood of their master, threw this crime on the grand vizier, the under pachi or lieutenant of the police, and another bashaw that had seen it committed. It was soon published that the sanguinary vizier had made an attempt on the life of the princes Amurath, Bajazet, and Ibrahim, brothers to Othman, and the only ones left of the Ottoman race. It is more likely that Darud meditated to make himself master of their persons, in order to increase his authority, for it is no way probable that he intended to put them to death. A Mussulman has no interest to extinguish the royal family, as the general opinion spread in Turkey, and which is interwoven in the system of their religion, is, that the family of the khan of the Tartars would possess the throne in default of the Ottoman race. Be that as it may, the capi aga, the chief of the black eunuchs, went to take the three princes out of the seraglio, agreeably to the order that he produced from the grand vizier. The young princes refused to follow him; and as he attempted to constrain them, sultan Amurath* exclaimed: "Are there none of my father's ser-

"vants

The grand vizier Darud makes an attempt on the liberty of the princes.

* They call sultan not only the reigning prince but likewise all that are of the same race. The only difference made between the emperor and the princes is, that the former is called sultan, without his name being added, and the others sultan Bajazet, sultan Amurath, &c.

“ wants that will undertake our defence ?” J.C. 1622.
 The icoglans, who surrounded them, alarmed Heg. 1032.
 the bostangis, baltagis, and all that were in the seraglio within call. The troop of the Resistance of the seraglio.
 The grand vizier is obliged to flee.
 The capi aga was repulsed, and himself torn to pieces under the eyes of the princes to whom he had offered violence. The grand vizier had only time to flee, to save himself from the fury of the janissaries, who ran to arms. The emperor Mustapha was obliged to be drawn from his contemplations to come himself and appease the commotion. He declared to the soldiers, that the life of his nephews was in security, that he had never a thought of taking it from them, and that they should be respected in the seraglio as the heirs to the throne. The emperor's harangue was accompanied with several thousand sequins, which it was necessary to distribute to this soldiery, become more and more greedy.

The valid sultaneſs, who found herself alone at the head of affairs, hastened to appoint a grand vizier, lest the janissaries should anticipate her choice. She sent the seals to an old black eunuch, called Mehemet Guirguin: which made people say in Constantinople, that the empire was governed by two old women. The troops made no opposition to this appointment, either that they were pleased at seeing the supreme authority in such feeble hands, or that the money which had been lavished on them had lulled them

Nomina-
 tion of a
 black eu-
 nuch to
 the vizier-
 ship.

J.C. 1623.
 Heg. 1032.

J.C. 1623.
Heg. 1032.

Revolt of
the Asiatic
bushaws.

into submission. It was reasonable to expect great troubles under such a government as Mustapha's. The bushaws of Asia, always less under subjection than the rest, had an excellent pretext and great inclination to rebel. The bushaws of Erzerum, Diarbekar, and Syria, refused to send their imposts to Constantinople, raised troops, under pretence of revenging the death of Othman, and even entered into a correspondence with the sophi of Persia, promising him succours, and the liberty of passing into Asiatic Turkey. On the order which the grand vizier, Guirguin, sent to the bushaw of Aleppo to resign his place to a successor, and to come to the Porte to give an account of his conduct, the deposed governor had his intended successor, an officer of the spahis, strangled, under pretence of his having been an accomplice in the death of Othman. He replied to the grand vizier, that the good of the state required the bushaws to remain in their governments to prevent disorders; that he, the bushaw of Aleppo, instead of sending to Constantinople the imposts which he had collected, should employ them in raising troops to put the province in a state of defence. The old eunuch received from all quarters similar replies to absolute orders which were become ridiculous. The valid sultaness, who greatly regretted Darud her son-in-law, resolved to draw him from his retreat, and
bring

bring him again into the divan in the capacity of captain bashaw, which was not vacant. J.C. 1623.
Heg. 1032.

The janissaries and spahis were still greatly enraged against Darud, but the money which his wife and mother-in-law plentifully distributed, soon reconciled this parricide with the principal chiefs among his old comrades, who had raised up the janissaries against him, and he appeared again at the Porte. The only thing left to be done was to wrest the place of captain bashaw from the person that had it. A falsity would cost nothing either to Darud or the sultaness his mother-in-law. They agreed to accuse the captain bashaw in the divan with having secret intelligence with the bashaws of Aleppo and Erzerum, and at the same time to render him suspected by the janissaries, by spreading in the o^{das} that Calil bashaw (that was his name,) had advised the murder of several of their comrades, committed one after another by the governors of Asia, to revenge the death of Othman. Darud produced pretended intercepted letters from the bashaw of Erzerum to Calil, and others from Calil to the bashaw of Aleppo, which tended to prove a connexion between the captain bashaw and these two rebels. During the reign of Mustapha, the soldiers were continually in arms. Several o^{das} of spahis and janissaries marched in order to the seraglio, demanding loudly that the divan should assemble, to judge the captain bashaw. The valid sultaness brings Darud to court again.

He accuses the captain bashaw of treason.

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Heg. 1032.

bashaw. Calil was informed of it. He had the confidence to get on horseback, and repair to the seraglio. As soon as he perceived the troops drawn up in order of battle before the outer court, he drew some papers from his bosom, and, holding them up at a distance, cried: "Faithful spahis, brave janissaries, you require that I should be tried, and I demand it as much as you do. Let the divan assemble, let your chiefs enter the chamber, and the culprits will soon be known." This noble confidence pleased the troops and repressed their clamours. The aga of the janissaries and the spahi agasi having entered the seraglio with Calil, some torpachis of the janissaries, some musalims of the spahis, and all the bashaws of the bench, Calil said to the grand vizier, Guirguin, who wanted to elude this examination, that neither he Guirguin, nor he Calil, nor any of those that entered the divan chamber, should leave it 'till the conduct of his accuser and his own were cleared up. They demanded, as also the chiefs of the troops, to have Darud fought for, whom they knew to be in the seraglio. He was found in fact with the valid sultaness his mother-in-law, who, alone of all the Turkish women, had assumed the right of receiving men into her apartment. Darud came and produced letters from Calil to the bashaw of Aleppo, as the captain bashaw had expected, and others from the bashaw of Erzerum to Calil.

The

The latter, after having alleged his former services and his attachment to the corps of janissaries, of which he had given proofs under the reign of Othman, called as a witness an effendi who accompanied the musti. This man affirmed that he knew the author of the letters just produced, and that he could bring the person who had forged the writing. This was a young slave who had a talent at counterfeiting characters. He was brought to the divan. The captain bashaw, who, by means of the effendi, had come to a knowledge of the imposition, had prevailed on the slave by promises and menaces to discover the truth, and to prove it before the judges. This young man copied the letters in the same character, in presence of the grand vizier and all the bashaws of the bench, and maintained in the face of Darud that he had written the original by his order and from his dictating. The confidence of the accused, and the proofs which he furnished of his innocence, disconcerted the accuser. As the latter endeavoured to make excuses, Calil cried: “ Now it is my turn, and I
 “ accuse Darud of having assassinated his master,
 “ against the consent of the reigning emperor
 “ and the janissaries, who had committed Oth-
 “ man to his care on condition of his not making
 “ any attempt on the life of that prince. I ac-
 “ cuse Darud of being the author of all the
 “ troubles which he has attempted to make me
 “ responsible

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“ responsible for, since it is Othman’s death that
 “ is made a pretext for the revolt, and which is
 “ the cause of the governors and soldiers of Asia’s
 “ owing so much ill will to the janissaries and
 “ spahis. I accuse the jabeggi pachi, here pre-
 “ sent, of having cut off an ear from the dead
 “ body of Othman by order of Darud, and of
 “ having carried it in a box to Mustapha; and
 “ here is the cover of the box, with the inscrip-
 “ tion written on it in the assassin’s own hand.”

And is con-
 victed of
 it himself.

This cover, which the captain bashaw had had
 the address to get from the emperor’s hands, had
 all the effect that he had expected from it. The
 chiefs of the troops cried, that he deserved instant
 death; but the grand vizier, Guirguin, and the
 bashaws of the bench, who saw only with the
 eyes of the valid sultaneſs, decided that the life
 of the emperor’s brother-in-law could not be
 taken, without the expreſs order of that
 prince. The jabeggi pachi was put to death
 immediately, and the officers of the janissaries
 demanded to have Darud delivered to their
 charge ’till the order for his death should be
 received from the emperor. The bashaws
 of the bench having represented to them,
 that, delivering Darud to the troops would be
 delivering him to instant execution, gave him in
 charge to the boſtangi pachi. “ Well,” cried
 the aga of the janissaries, “ we conſent to the
 “ criminal’s remaining in the ſeraglio; but woe
 “ be

“ be to you and yours,” said he to the *bostangi* pa-chi with a menacing tone, “ if he escape your vigilance.” The officers of the *spahis* and *janissaries*, who were more than twenty in the *divan*, drew their swords all together, and said aloud: “ We swear by the prophet, that Darud shall die to-morrow.”

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The valid sultaneſs learned, with as much fright as ſurpriſe, what had paſſed in the *divan*. Neither ſhe, nor the grand vizier, nor Muſtapha himſelf, thought his power ſufficient to ſave a head proſcribed by the *janissaries*. The *bostangis*, who had not forgotten the threat of the *aga*, would never have conſented to let him eſcape. The young princeſs, wife to Darud, begged with tears the life of this ſervant of the ſultan, who was expoſed to loſe it, only for having placed Muſtapha on the throne, and for having confirmed him on it. For want of authority, the valid ſultaneſs had reſort to the reſources of weak princes: violence, artifice, and corruption. The *aga* of the *janissaries*, who had ſhewn himſelf ſo redoubtable, was ſurpriſed and ſtrangled in his bed. The valid ſultaneſs obtained from Muſtapha, or rather dictated to him, an order, antedated, for putting Othman to death; and by means of money which ſhe lavished without meaſure, ſhe ſucceeded in gaining over ſome *odas pachis* of the *janissaries*, and ſome muſalims of the *spahis*. The next morning at break of day, all

Vain efforts of the sultaneſs to ſave Darud.

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all the odas marched towards the seraglio, and filled the courts. The boftangis brought the criminal into the second court opposite a fountain, the place destined for executions; and as they were preparing to behead him, which is an ignominious death among the Turks, and reserved solely for malefactors, Darud drew from his bosom a paper, which he said was an order from Mustapha, and which enjoined him to put Othman to death. Immediately, all the officers that had been gained over, called to have the execution suspended; and drawing near the criminal, under pretence of guarding him, they conducted him to Ortadjami mosque. A thousand confused cries broke from the spahis and janissaries. All that had not touched the gold of the sultaneſs, cried, that this pretended order could not but be false, or ſolicited too late, as Darud had not alleged it the day before when he was convicted; that this order contradicted the writing on the cover of the box, which this ſame Darud had been forced to acknowledge. On theſe reflections, the greater number ſuſpected the truth, and all exclaimed that the order ſhould be executed on the aſſaſſin. A torpachi having put himſelf at the head of four hundred janissaries, repaired to Ortadjami mosque: his comrades durſt not defend Darud. He blamed them for the protection which they had given this criminal, and threatened them with the hatred of all the troops

troops if they did not consent to his execution. At length, having dispersed some and persuaded the rest, he made Darud get into the same carriage that had carried Othman to the prison of the Seven Towers. He conducted the culprit to this prison, and had him strangled in the same room where Darud had had sultan Othman put to death.

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He is
strangled
in the pri-
son of the
Seven
Towers.

Meanwhile, the report of the aga of the janissaries' death being spread, his corps resolved to avenge a chief who had shewn himself so courageous. The odas took up arms again, and demanded, with their usual tumult, the deposition and death of the grand vizier, whom they accused of being the sole author of this outrage. The old eunuch, who could not be reproached with any other crime than his blind submission to the valid sultaneſs, fled as soon as he learned the danger that he was in. The emperor's mother, who no longer knew with whom to divide the government, too weighty for her hands, conferred the dignity of grand vizier on the caimacan, Chufain bashaw, who had always been beloved by the janissaries. She sent this minister again with sacks of money, to disperse the mutineers. This was the only remedy that she knew for so many calamities; and this remedy, so often made use of, began to fail.

The grand
vizier is
deposed.

Chufain assembled all the chiefs in the month of August. He observed to them that, in the ten

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Chufain,
his fuccef-
for, affem-
bles the
great men
of the
empire.

months which had passed since the deposing of Othman, anarchy was gotten to its height, and that it was necessary to choose a master in whose name one might govern. All agreed in the incapacity of the sovereign and the valid sultaness of whom they held their places. They exclaimed that the confusion with which the state had been troubled ever since Mustapha had been emperor, promised to work its dissolution. It was unanimously decided to remove this phantom of a monarch. Nothing more was necessary than to agree on the form of deposing him. The grand vizier, the mufti, the two cadileklers, the captain bashaw, the reis effendi, six viziers or bashaws of the bench, the caimacan, the new aga of the janissaries, (for this place was not left vacant,) the spahi agasi, and some others, composed this assembly. The two agas were for having the troops proclaim Amurath, the emperor's nephew, as they had proclaimed Mustapha himself on Othman's being deposed; but the men of the law observed, that this method was too arbitrary, and gave too much power to a seditious soldiery which the least discontent could arm; that, if it were possible, it would be best to execute this change without tumult, and in order thereto, all the divan and ulema should be convinced of the profound incapacity of Mustapha, and of the urgent necessity to give him a successor. The grand vizier appointed a meeting of the divan for

for the next day, and the musti one of the ulema. J.C. 1623.
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 As soon as those that had a right to compose these assemblies had repaired to the great chamber of the seraglio, the chief of the religion and the prime minister, the one followed by some effendis, the other by several bashaws, separated from the rest and went to the door of the sultan's apartments, desiring to speak to the emperor in the name of the whole state. Though the valid sultaneſs had forbidden any one to be permitted to enter her son's room, the doors, which were at the disposal of the capi aga, were soon opened. The deputation appeared before the prince. The musti, after having kissed the bottom of his vest, earnestly conjured him to descend into the divan, to hear the complaints of his faithful subjects, and remedy the disorders which afflicted the empire. The imbecility of Mustapha was then apparent to all that had been chosen for witnesses. This prince replied by puerilities only, accompanied by a laugh which demonstrated what had always been suspected. In spite of the clamours of the valid sultaneſs, the deputies returned to the divan. They there gave an exact and circumstantial relation of every thing that they had just seen and heard. After this account, which left nothing to be hoped for from Mustapha, the assembly exclaimed that a chief must be had for the empire. The choice could not fall but on one of Achmet's children :

They decide that Mustpha shall be deposed.

They summon him to appear in the divan.

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Amurath
is chosen
to succeed
him.

They place
him on the
throne.

the eldest, called Amurath, was hardly fifteen years old. An advantageous figure, great address and agility of body, and more openness of temper than could be expected in a prince of that age, brought up in a prison, gave hopes that this young prince would one day repair the calamities which afflicted the empire, and, 'till that period, would listen to those that were capable of guiding him. The same deputies that had been to Mustapha, went in the name of the divan, of the ulema, and of the troops, to offer the empire to his nephew. The young prince, who had been instructed by the sultane's his mother, who will be often mentioned in the course of this work, at first refused this honor. He said that he would not strip his uncle of an authority which he lawfully possessed; but the deputies having repeated to him several times that Mustapha was in a state of imbecility which rendered him absolutely incapable of governing, Amurath seemed to yield to the instances of all the bashaws and effendis, who conjured him to save the empire. He came to the divan, where he spoke, in few words, with great precision and grace. Nothing remained but to have the sword of Othman girded on the new emperor. This ceremony might meet with opposition. The consent of the troops had not been asked for this proclamation. This was the first time that the divan and ulema undertook a revolution in the empire: 'till then these violent measures

measures had always been the work of the troops, and particularly of the janissaries, who had usurped by force the right of making and unmaking their emperors. It was more essential to procure their consent to the accession of Amurath before it was made public, because the treasury was empty, and the soldiers could not be granted the gratification, which each emperor had always given, the day that he girded on the sword of Othman. If the odas had opposed the proclamation, the disorder would have been at its height.

It was decided therefore that this ceremony should be deferred 'till the chiefs thought themselves certain of their soldiers. Derviche bashaw, the new aga of the janissaries, and Eliman, the spahi agasi, undertook to assemble at their respective homes the principal officers, to demonstrate to them the necessity of opposing the progress of the bashaws of Erzerum, Aleppo, and Diarbekar, who had sworn implacable hatred to these two corps, and who, in their incursions, caused as many janissaries and spahis to be strangled as they could meet with, to avenge, as they said, the blood of the emperor Othman. The agas of the spahis and janissaries were likewise to insinuate to their corps, that the treasury being empty through the profusion of the last emperors, and particularly of the valid sultanesses, it was not easy to levy an army, still less to pay the troops already

J.C. 1623.
Heg. 1032.

The agas
prepare
their troops
to acknow-
ledge the
new empe-
ror.

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already on foot what would be necessary to enable them to take the field, if credit could not be found among the Jews, Frank merchants, and the richest of the empire: a credit which could not but be despaired of, as long as the state should be governed by a prince in a state of lunacy, and by a woman who was ignorant of the first principles of government; that the bashaw of Erzerum notwithstanding was advancing into Natolia, that he was usurping all the riches and imposts of Asia, with which he would soon find means to possess himself of Constantinople; that these brave janissaries and invincible spahis, would be overcome by number, and that they would see sink under them this empire which they had cemented with their blood. These reasons were sufficiently powerful to give hopes of their success. The two chiefs demanded to have the valid sultanness, Mustapha's mother, shut up in the old seraglio, in order to deprive her of the ability of caballing. This woman, reduced to despair, made several attempts on her own life.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

E R R A T A.

- Page 28, line 26.—For *govern them*, read *govern under them*.
 After the 28th page, to page 37th, for 21, 22, &c. read
 29, 30, &c.
- Page 57, line 10.—For *murder o*, read *murder of*.
 75, line 29.—For *Affekys*, read *Affakys*.
 80, line 28-29.—For *suceeeded*, read *succeeded*.
 164, line 12-13.—For *reclamations*, read *remonstrances of
 the rest*.
 196, line 21.—For *Asia*; *employed*, read *Asia*; *and em-
 ployed*.
 197, line 4.—For *sufficint*, read *sufficient*.
 207, line 8.—Dele *a* at the end of the line.
 236, line 20.—For *surface*, read *face*.
 240, line 21.—For *baram, of*, read *baram, and of*.
 242, line 2.—For *alledge*, read *allege*.
 244, line 10.—For *tbe*, read *the*.
 285, line 20.—For *campains*, read *campaigns*.
 290, line 26.—For *a man of counsel*, read *a man of good
 counsel*.
 347, line 13.—For *the*, read *his*.
 356, line 26.—For *Darut*, read *Darud*.

